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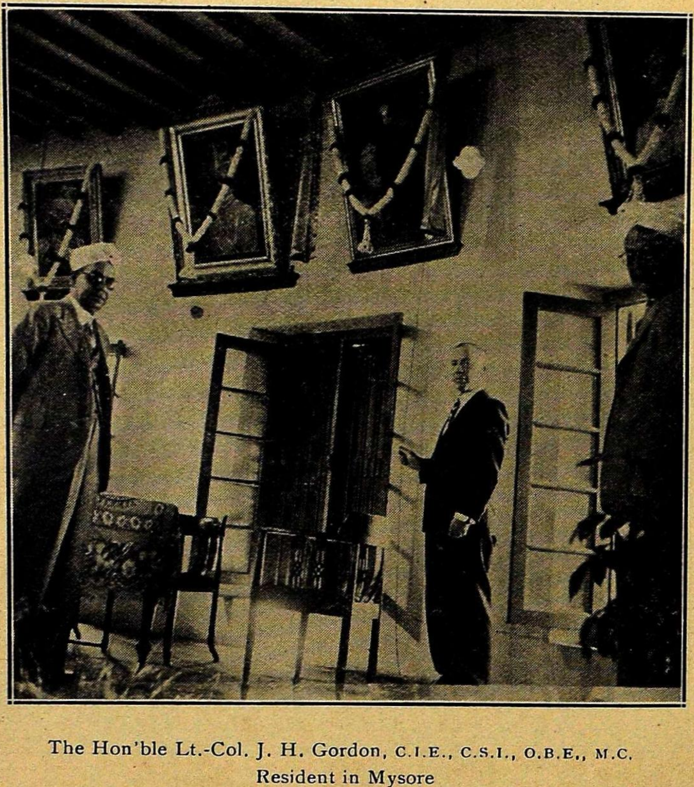

The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.I.E., C.S.I., O.B.E., M.C.
Resident in Mysore
Unveiling the Portrait of
His Highness Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur.

The
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of the
Mythic Society

Vol. XXXII] JANUARY 1942 [No. 3

THE UNVEILING CEREMONY OF THE PORTRAIT OF HIS HIGHNESS ŚRI JAYA CHĀMARĀJA WADIYAR BAHADUR MAHĀRĀJA OF MYSORE

20th November 1941

THE HON'BLE LT.-COL. J. H. GORDON, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C.
(in the Chair)

THE Unveiling Ceremony of the Portrait (oil painting) of our Patron, His Highness Śri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur, which was graciously presented to us by His Highness, was performed at the Daly Memorial Hall by the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E., M.C. British Resident in Mysore on Thursday, the 20th of November 1941, at 9 a.m.

The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, C.S.I., C.I.E., O.B.E. M.C. accompanied by his Personal Assistant arrived at the Daly Memorial Hall punctually at 9 a.m. He was received by Rājamantrapravīna N. Madhava Rau, Dewan of Mysore; the President, Rājakarya-pravīna N. S. Subba Rao; the General Secretary and Treasurer, Mr. S. Srikantaya, Rājamantrapravīna K. V. Anantaraman, Rājasēvaprasakta A. V. Ramanathan, Mr. J. Mohamed Imam, and the members of the Committee of the Society.

The President, Rājakaryapravina N. S. Subba Rao, in requesting the Hon'ble Lt.-Col. J. H. Gordon, to unveil the portrait of His Highness Śri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur said :

" Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is my privilege as the President of the Mythic Society to request the Hon'ble the Resident to unveil the portrait of His Highness the Mahārāja, our beloved Patron. Our Society from its inception has had the honour of intimate association with the Royal Family of the State, both His Highness the late Mahārāja as well as His Highness the late Yuvarāja being intimately connected with it, and the members of the Society have very grateful recollections of the deep interest that both of them took in the activities and the prosperity of the Society. His Highness Śri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur graciously consented to become our Patron soon after His Highness succeeded to the Throne. On this occasion we desire to express our loyal homage to His Highness and offer our respectful assurance that the Society will endeavour earnestly to be worthy in every way of His Highness' gracious interest and support. It is a matter of common knowledge that His Highness, who is a deep and widely read student of History, is keenly interested in the history and the antiquities of Mysore, and it is our hope, in active co-operation with scholars and sister institutions engaged in allied activities, to throw increasing light upon the past history and achievements of Mysore.

I should like to take this opportunity of conveying to Lt.-Col. Gordon our sense of loss with his impending retirement. He has been taking, during his stay in our midst, a keen interest in all that pertains to the welfare of Mysore in general and to our activities in particular. We have learnt to respect him as a gentleman of high principles and lofty character, and those of us, who have had the privilege of working with him on one or other of the several bodies with which he has been officially connected, know what a power for order, stability, and fairplay he has been. It fell to Lt.-Col. Gordon to be in our midst when large changes took place in the State in administrative personnel as well as in political machinery, and the transition was smooth and harmonious, in no

small measure as the result of his wise guidance and advice. I venture to offer him on behalf of the Society, and I am sure on behalf of all assembled here, our most warm wishes for many happy and serene years of well-earned rest."

The Hon'ble Lt.-Col. Gordon, rising amidst cheers and acclamations delivered the following address:

"Mr. Dewan Saheb, President, Vice-Presidents, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish to thank you for the great privilege which you have accorded me today in inviting me, as one of your Honorary Presidents, to perform the ceremony of unveiling the portrait of His Highness which he has been so graciously pleased to present to the Society.

I believe that this Society was founded in 1909 since when it has grown from strength to strength and that during these years it has drawn within its ranks many distinguished gentlemen and those interested in historical research for which Mysore provides so great a field and that the enthusiasm and spirit of the Founder Father Tabard still prevail.

This Hall, the walls of which are now to be graced with the portrait of His Highness, stands as a memorial of the deep and sincere interest of His late Highness in your Society, as well as that of the officer whose name it commemorates.

It is little more than a year ago, that we were all plunged into deep mourning when your Patron, His late Highness, was so suddenly taken from among us—each one of us individually felt a deep sense of personal loss and grief as though one from our homes had been taken. Mysore had lost a wise and benevolent Ruler, during whose rule so much progress, both material and moral had been made and one who had endeared himself to all both rich and poor and who by his example and deep sincerity of purpose had evoked from one and all the best with which we human beings are endowed.

As time passes we appreciate that the spirit and wisdom of a great man does not die with him but still lives to guide and help us

and so out of grief comes happiness in the knowledge that no great man dies and that his spirit and example still remain.

It is fitting that these walls should now be graced with the portrait of your new Patron and it is fitting indeed that your Patron should be your Ruler, one whom you love and respect and to whom you are bound by the ties of deep affection and loyalty.

To succeed to a great position in life in the wake of so well loved a figure is not an easy task, but in the short span of time since His Highness was called to his great responsibilities he has given ample proof of his great sense of duty, his devotion to his people and their welfare and it is no exaggeration to say that he has entered into the hearts of each one of us and these feelings of esteem and devotion which we all hold for His Highness will, I know, continue to grow as the years pass as surely as his nobility and greatness of character, simplicity of life, and devotion to duty to his people will forge an unbreakable and everlasting bond binding the people to their Ruler and the Ruling House for the common good and happiness.

Gentlemen, at the outset of my remarks I said that it was a pleasure and honour which you have accorded me today in asking me to perform this ceremony. I deem it an honour to be associated with you in this ceremony and a pleasure because it has afforded me the opportunity of giving expression of my feeling of deep esteem and regard for your Patron which I share to the full with each of you, and I know that you, gentlemen will ever seek to serve His Highness and promote those great ties of affection and loyalty which bind you and not only you but all Mysore to the person and House of your noble Patron."

He then unveiled the Portrait of His Highness Śri Jaya Chāmarāja Wadiyar Bahadur amidst cheers and acclamations, all members standing.

Rājacharitavishārada Rao Bahadur C. Hayavadana Rao, Secretary for Ethnology, proposed a hearty vote of thanks to the distinguished guest as follows:

"Ladies and Gentlemen,

I rise to thank you all for your kind presence here this

morning, not to detain you for any length of time. Lieut.-Col. Gordon who has so generously spared time to go over to us and lend us a helping hand in today's function and make so admirable a speech as he has just delivered, belongs to the category of high and distinguished military officers, who have added lustre to Mysore's history by their connection with the Residency here. The first of these was that famous military officer and diplomatist of ability, Sir John Malcolm, the first Resident of Mysore. His skill and experience were so greatly valued that "Send Malcolm", wherever there was trouble, was the favourite code word, as it were, of the days to which he belonged. He was followed by Lieut.-Col. Mark Wilks, whose imperishable *History of Mysore* won for him great distinction. He is probably the only historian of India who was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, a just tribute to the value of his work. About fifty years ago, we had Sir Harry Prendergast, so well-known in connection with the annexation of Burma. Then, in our own times, we have had Lieut.-Col. Sir Hugh Daly, who proved a true friend of the State and worthily maintained the highest traditions of British Statesmanship in this country. His close connection with this Society is so well-known that I need not say more than to mention that this Hall, in which we are met, has been named in his honour. He was a great *raconteur* and the association of his name with the Society has helped it forward as nothing else could have done since his retirement. Many other military officers have shone in the honoured office of the Hon'ble the Resident in Mysore. Sir Oliver St. John, Sir Donald Robertson and others to name but a few—but Lieut.-Col. Gordon has added fresh lustre to it by his kindness and affability. Both in his personal and official capacity, he has been the pink of courtesy to us all. He leaves behind him worthy traditions and a fragrance that will last for long. In the name of the Society, I tender him and all who have so kindly responded to our call, at such short time, our hearty thanks."

With three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, proposed by the General Secretary, and distribution of flowers the happy gathering dispersed.

A NOTE ON NYAYAMAKARANDA

(ESSENTIALS OF AUTHENTIC ADVAITA)

By M. A. Venkata Rao, M.A.

Nyayamakaranda, an advaitic exposition by Anandabodhacārya of perhaps the twelfth century *A.D.* is a remarkable treatise in the way of philosophic presentation. It states the logical framework of the system it upholds in an analytic, systematic fashion marshalling the chief lines of argument *pro* and *con*. A careful study of this work, smaller in bulk than the better known Citsukhī, will help the modern student to grasp the philosophic structure of the system in its authentic tone and idiom, undistracted by the doubts engendered by the differing characterisations of advaita offered by modern expounders in English. A translation of the text was made in collaboration with two others six years ago and is awaiting revision and publication. Meanwhile a note on the contents of the work with brief comments on their modern parallels and philosophic significance may arouse the interest of scholars in this admirable text. It breathes the serenity and logical ripeness of an age different from ours.

Advaita means literally not having a second. It stands for the form of monism or nondualism sponsored by Śaṁkara. Anandabodha, the author of the present work, is a follower of Śaṁkara. Coming as he did some four centuries after Śaṁkara, he found his inheritance a full-fledged system with elaborate logical weapons of offence and defence. Definitions, arguments and terminology were already standardised. He collected the most important of them into a systematic form in this work for purposes of teaching.

The first two chapters are devoted to a refutation of difference, subjective and objective. The first chapter collects some of the chief arguments in favour of the plurality of souls and tries to refute them. No Indian thinker is content to appeal to common sense either for defence or for attack. The principal ground

for postulating a plurality of souls or centres is of course the familiar distinction among sources of pleasure and pain. Conscious centres are found in experience to be associated with bodies (bases or seats of experience); pleasures and pains emerge in different bodies and they are not all owned by one self. Hence we infer a separate centre for each body. Now the advaitin attacks this argument which is a standardised form of common sense. Contrariety of behaviour, non-participation of experiences, diversity of seats of experience are not enough to necessitate real diversity of conscious souls. Sound pervades all space but it is heard only in ear-spaces. Similarly one universal consciousness may pervade all reality or constitute all reality but it may give rise to distinctions of sensation in diverse areas of its expanse. We may think of distinctions in space on account of the position of a bird (or an aeroplane) without being obliged to postulate real fissures therein.

The controversy centres on the relative importance of focus and content. Diversity of foci need not involve diversity of content. The monist regards the universal content as the reality and the foci as appearances thereof. The modern student is of course reminded of the controversy between Bosanquet and Pringle-Pattison on the status of the finite self. The principle of Individuation is the extraneous adjunct such as the body for Bosanquet and the advaitin but for Pringle-Pattison and the dvaitin it is something deeper, *viz.* the essential nature of the self. Should all consciousness be necessarily of the form of exclusive selfhood?

The second chapter refutes objective difference. Of course difference is a matter of experience. But the monist tries to show that it is not *given* in perception. It is the result of misperception. Acts of perception are momentary and therefore can reveal only momentary snap-shots. But the notion of difference is a complex one involving at least two relata and a relation. One act can give only one of them at a time. So the idea of difference is not given but constructed and constructions can only be phenomena. Our author is aware of the controversy regarding the nature of the specious present. Whether the unit of apprehension displays the aspects of before, now and after or not, he maintains that the point at issue here is not affected. Difference may be regarded

either as the essential nature of the terms themselves or as qualities of terms. In either case it is a complex notion which cannot be given in one act. The controversy discloses the root of all phenomenalism. The Humian 'atoms' of sensations and images and the Kantian acceptance thereof are perhaps the logical source of all forms of current phenomenalism.

Chapters three, four and five fall into one group discussing as they do several theories of error or illusion. This theme is more systematically developed in Indian thought than in European. Indian theories of error range from the extreme of complete denial to the other of assimilating all experience to illusion, with many intermediate shades occupying distinctive positions. The first theory discussed is that of Non-Apprehension. There is no distinctive experience of error. It is a complex of perception and memory. In the error of mal-observation, 'this is a snake', the element of '*this*' is given in perception and is true. But the idea of a snake is also true being thrown up by memory. Error therefore is a compound of two true acts of knowing both veridical in themselves. Why then do we call this perception erroneous? We forget the distinction between perception and memory and regard them both as giving one object. Such forgetfulness goes ordinarily by the name of error, but it is not unambiguously given in any single act of apprehension. According to this theory all knowledge is veridical in character and has the nature of revealing existent objects. Thought cannot reveal the non-existent, not being creative. Monism emphasises the creative nature of thought. Our author points out that failure of thought cannot inspire action. But in erroneous apprehension we do find a tendency to relevant action. Further, the identification of the '*this*' with the snake or other erroneous content involves the apprehension of a non-existent element and so the creative element of thought is inescapable.

The next theory of Mis-Apprehension admits the presentation of a non-existent element in perception. In the error 'this is silver' (shell being mistaken for silver) the '*this*' is given and is true; the silver is not here and we do apprehend the non-given but we need not therefore jump to the conclusion that it is non-existent. It could not be given in the present experience if it were not

apprehended in previous experience. A totally non-existent object is utterly unthinkable and can never be given. Hence if the illusory silver is not here in the present context it must exist elsewhere *i.e.* in the shop. All instances of a universal are given in perception by a peculiar kind of contact. Our author points out that this instance of silver itself cannot be regarded as existing elsewhere and so thought can grasp the non-existent as such and if it can do so in one typical instance it can do so all the time. The only true element in all perception is therefore the basis or the 'this', every predicate that is attributed to it is subject to contradiction by later experience and therefore has only a practical value! The world may be a mere appearance vanishing totally like the illusory snake or silver leaving the foundation of an absolute consciousness intact. Our ordinary notion of time and space and matter may completely vanish. Here lies the distinction between Śaṁkara and Bradley. To the former the world will vanish on the dawning of the true vision leaving not a wrack behind; to the latter it will be transmuted or transfigured. Rāmānuja and Madhva are closer to European idealism than Śaṁkara. But even Śaṁkara tries to hold a balanced position among extremists. The next school considered is that of Buddhist subjective idealism. It holds that the predicate of the erroneous perception is not an external object, for it vanishes on the appearance of true knowledge. It is an idea of the mind. Similarly all apprehensions may be ideas without external objects corresponding to them. But the mind is a true experiencer. Another school of Buddhism carries the logic of phenomenalism to its final culmination, even as Hume did at a later date. The non-existent need not appear as existent for in the later perception of truth, we think of error as error. In the idea 'this is not a snake' but only a rope we do have a false item for content, even if only for denial. Even so the subject of apprehension, the conscious centre itself may consist of baseless appearances! Compared with these Buddhist schools of Self-Apprehension and False-Apprehension, subjective idealism and complete nihilism, Śaṁkara's position is moderate indeed! He urges a factor other than the perceiving mind though only a practical factor and a reality underlying all phenomena *viz.* an

absolute consciousness. Other schools of vedānta are more concrete in character and re-edit the theory of Non-Apprehension or that of Mis-Apprehension and restore a relative dependent reality to the world. Madhva for example re-edits the theory of Mis-Perception. He grants that a totally unreal object is given in error. For the erroneous silver or snake, in the moment of apprehension and in the precise manner in which it presents itself, is totally non-existent elsewhere. But some objects like them must have been experienced before. The elements must have been given before, but the combination and the identification with the '*this*' must be regarded as pure error. Error implies reality therefore in some other form. Madhva gives a completely realistic theory in support of a concrete idealism or spiritual realism. The monist however as a result of these discussions concludes that error is an indefinable object, indefinable as real or unreal. It is unique. It is not real, for it disappears on the apprehension of truth. It is not unreal, for it appears.

Our author proceeds in the sixth chapter to the establishment of the unreality of the world or rather of its difference from both reality and unreality. The self is truly real, the world is unique like the erroneous object and disappears from view to the final vision. As part of the same argument, Anandabodha proves the self-evident character of consciousness. It is interesting to compare the advaitic doctrine on these matters with the Hegelian view of the Degrees of Reality as stated for example by Bradley. In advaita three kinds of 'reality' are upheld, the absolute reality of consciousness, the practical reality of the world and a kind of 'reality' possessed by totally unthinkable objects such as sky-lotus, hare's horns etc. The last kind is not presented at all and so need not be negated. The middle kind has a seeming coherence and a deceptive claim to reality vanishing on the apprehension of the first kind, which itself is eternal. Now the Bradleyan account is fundamentally different. There is a substantial element of reality in the world, it is not mere appearance, it is a partially true appearance. The truth is not behind error but in it. To the final vision the world does not disappear but is only transformed, even as a false or partially true hypothesis is remoulded.

The seventh chapter is a long discussion involving much technical detail. Though at the first blush it seems to be very remote from any modern interest, a knowledge of motive and background will reveal its extraordinary modernism. Vedānta literally means end of the Veda, which is a body of scripture more philosophical in character than the earlier portions of the same material. Indian philosophical thought emerges as a science of interpretation of scripture. Now such interpretation has taken two distinctive channels. One takes its stand on the earlier scriptures predominating in ritual, sacrifice etc. and develops a philosophy in support of action in general for giving a secure foundation to the central religious act, namely sacrifice. They set out to prove that all vedic utterances must be interpreted in terms of sacrificial action. In the process they discover and codify methods of documentary interpretation which are applicable to any document whatever. We understand the sense of a passage by means of naming, praise, condemnation, introduction, conclusion, emphasis, syntactical order and so on. They go further and develop a science of language. The first part of the chapter discusses the theory that all meanings of words whatever are primarily apprehended by the young in terms of action. This position is a full-fledged instrumentalism. This psychology of instrumentalism is used to support a practical psychology of motivation. The highest aim is action; the vedic philosopher goes on to show that we cannot but act. All action is motived by an idea of action. Desire for pleasure etc. is secondary. Action ensues without desire for pleasure and desire for pleasure may exist and action may never ensue. We may desire the cool delight of moonlight on a summer night but it is beyond the power of action to bring it about. Realisability by will is necessary but is not enough. Hurt or injury is realisable but it does not start action to obtain it. Aim or intention is necessary but again is not enough. The idea of an act to be fulfilled by one's self is the absolutely invariable antecedent of action. Hence all motives are motives for action. Choose the highest *viz.* Vedic Imperative (*niyoga*) which is an end in itself. This school of vedic interpretation culminates in the idea of a Practical Absolute. The Vedāntic School offers a rival interpretation

and poses a Speculative Absolute. All veda teaches an Absolute, the final aim is not action but realisation through knowledge. Advaita is a branch of this school. Our author Anandabodha discusses both the psychology of language and of motivation of the Mimamsakas, the rival school. He points out that word-meaning is not invariably acquired through reference to action. It may also emerge through syntactical order and association with words already understood. We see a bird singing and we hear it spoken in reference to it—'The cuckoo is singing.' We understand that the bird that we saw is called cuckoo. Further, mere consciousness of action cannot generate action. Action is painful in its nature and will not take place unless there is hope of a gain greater than the pain involved. The Good is the final category of action to Vedānta whereas the Right is Supreme for the early Vedic thinker. The divergence has a striking resemblance to that between the Hebrew note of sacrifice, action, moral righteousness and the Greek note of knowledge, reason, vision; or that between the Christian and the Platonic elements in European tradition. It seems natural too. No culture can confine itself to only one aspect of human nature. Every civilisation is bound to develop philosophies of both kinds.

The next theme on the Unitary Import of Propositions seems to be a mere logical discussion to a cursory examination but as usual it is only the appearance that is remote from current interest. The Upaniṣads (later Vedic reflections) declare that the Absolute is Truth, Consciousness and Infinity, or again Consciousness, Joy etc. Now the monist has declared his Absolute to be beyond all attributes. It is said to be beyond all distinctions of subject and object, substance and quality, cause and effect etc. How then is it reasonable to attribute Consciousness, Joy, Infinity and so on to an attributeless entity? Advaita and our author declare that the several predicates in this definition of Brahman (Absolute) refer to an impartite reality. They refer without importing any distinction. The attributes are many because they are necessary to negate different kinds of misunderstanding of the Absolute. We may think of it as material and so the word Consciousness is used; we may think of it as joyless and so

the word joy is used but consciousness and joy do not exist as separable or even distinguishable elements in the Absolute. It comes to this that the Infinite as Infinite and from its own point of view, if it has a point of view, transcends our understanding but our analysis of the world necessarily leads to the postulation of such a reality. From the standpoint of religion Advaita rejects all forms of anthropomorphism. Even the idea of personality is too human an idea.

The book next goes on to discuss the idea of salvation, liberation or *mokṣa*. Except the disputed case of Buddhism all systems of Indian philosophy agree in believing in the possibility of achieving a perfect life after the present. The content of such a perfect life has a great deal of interest at the present time. Jainism for example holds that perfection consists in endless progress in thought, feeling and activity a very modern doctrine indeed![1] It is perhaps the only Indian system that confers eternal value on time! Alexander would be very surprised to know that from more than 2,500 years past an Indian scheme of religion is maintaining substantially his view! There is no central spirit dominating all things. There are only higher beings who have achieved their status of deity and are examples to us. Worship is imitation. But this system is outside the pale of orthodoxy and does not appear to advantage in the book. Advaita concentrates on the Sāṁkhya theory of aloofness and passivity as the goal of life and directs the fire of criticism mainly upon it. The Sāṁkhya holds a very interesting theory of nature. Nature exists for the sake of spirit up to a point. Like a dancer exposing herself deftly, the panorama of nature unfolds a wealth of attraction. Attraction subsists so long as the spirit identifies itself with nature but the moment it realises its utter difference from it, it is free and subsists eternally free and alone!

The next topic discusses the relative merits of action and thought as pathways to salvation. Action in this context is largely

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1. This is the view of Jainism current in vedāntic criticism. I have since reason to doubt this interpretation. Even the Jains seem to prefer eternity in the end!

ritual. Advaita maintains that ritual is important for purposes of purity of heart. Self-surrender is an essential step before the true life of thought can begin. The ultimate vision can only be brought about by study, meditation and contemplation (mystic vision). The discussion involves the status of action. One is reminded of Bradley's question of the ultimacy of activity. Advaita[2] is emphatic that after realisation there *need be no action.* That is why Professor Radhakrishnan is trying to define two stages of realisation so that there may be room for the exalted activity of service. The rival schools of Dvaita and Visistādvaita hold that thought and action are compatible in the state of realisation. The last chapter deals with the status of the final state of realisation which dispels all ignorance for ever. Is that different from the Absolute ? And if this difference does not persist, do we not have bondage again ?

A phase of translation and interpretation must be passed through before India can contribute to world-culture in a vital manner.

2. The status of the jivanmukta is one of acute controversy.

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NEW LIGHT ON THE MĀṆKIĀLI INSCRIPTION OF KING KANIṢKA

By Baij Nath Puri, Lucknow

Ever since 1834, when it was first edited by M. Prinsep in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, the Māṇkiāli inscription of King Kaniṣka has formed a subject of discussion among the distinguished scholars of Indian epigraphy. With a view to make the meaning of the inscription explicit and clear, a good deal of improvements were suggested by Messrs. Senart[1], Luders[2], Fleet[3], and Sten Konow[4]. Despite the attempts made by these savants, some doubt still exists as regards the interpretation of 'Guśānavasa samvardhaka' in the inscription. The subject of the present paper is to throw some light on this point in the inscription, which seems to have an important bearing on the history of the Kuṣāns. Before discussing the point it is better first to peruse the inscription :—

Line 1. *Saṁ 10 4 4 [Kartiyasa majh (e) divase 20] e [tra] purvae Mahārājasa Kaṇe*

Line 2. *shkasa Gushūṇavaśasaṁvardhak Lala*

Line 3. *daḍaṇayago Veśpaśisa Kshatrapasa*

Line 4. *horamurt [o] sa tasa apanage vihare*

Line 5. *horamurto etra ṇaṇa bhagava Buddhajh [a] va*

Line 6. *p [r] atistavayati saha tae [na] Veśpaśeṇa Khudachie [na]*

Line 7. *Buriteṇa cha viharakara [vha] eṇa*

Line 8. *sa [m] -veṇa cha parivareṇa sadha eteṇa ku-*

Line 9. *śalamulena budhehi cha sha [va] chi [cha]*

Line 10. *samaṁ sada bhavatu*

Line 11. *bhratara Svarabudhisa agrapa [ḍi] aśae*

Line 12. *sadha Budhitena navakarmigeṇa*

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1. J. A. S. B. xxiii 1854. p. 703.
2. J. R. A. S. 1909.
3. J. R. A. S. 1914.
4. Corpus Vol. II.

Translation.—Anno 18, on the 20th day in the month of Kārttika on the first (*tithi*) during the reign of Mahārāja Kaniṣka, the general Lala, the scion of the Guśān race, the donation master of the Kaṣatrapa Veśpasi—he is the donation master in his own vihāra—established several relics of the Lord Buddha together with a triad: Veśpaśia the Khudichian, Burita the Vihāra architect, and with the whole chapter. Through this root of bliss, together with the Buddhas and Śrāvakas, may it for ever be for the principal share of (my) brother Svarabuddhi. (He was also associated) with Burita, the repairing architect.

The translation of the passage is undisputed save that 'Guśānavasa samvardhaka' should not mean 'the scion of the Kuśān race' nor should it qualify 'Lala'. As is apparent, it should mean "an increaser of the Kuśān race" and should qualify King Kaniṣka. Prinsep while first editing[5] the inscription translated it as meaning 'an increaser of the Kuśān race', but as the phrase happened to be near 'Lala' he thought that it should qualify him. Who else save one's own kith and kin could increase the family or the honour of the family? Therefore, by indirect inference he concluded that 'Guśānavasa samvardhaka' should be translated as 'a scion of the Kuśān family'. This was accepted by practically all the scholars who edited it. But it would be seen that by paraphrasing the introductory portion of the inscription, the phrase would govern Kaniṣka and not 'Lala'. Thus "Guśānavasa samvardhaka-Mahārāja Kaneṣkasa Sam 10 4 4 [Kartiyas majh (*e*) divase 20] e (tra) purve Lala daḍaṇayago Veśpaśisa Kṣatrapasa horamurto . . " would be a good paraphrase of the introductory portion of the inscription and would clear its meaning. The appellation for 'Lala,' if he were a scion of the Kuśān race, or family, should have been "Kuśānvansaj" and not Kuśān or "Guśānavasa samvardhaka."

Now the phrase Guśānavasa samvardhaka has some significance. The samdhi of the phrase would be Guśān + Vāsa and Sam + Vardhak. Guśāna stands for Kuśāna[6] and Vāsa

5. J. A. S. B. Vol. III. 1834.

6. Cf. Mahārājasa Guśānasa rajami.

stands for Vamsa meaning family or race. 'Sam' means completely or fully. It comes from the Sanskrit word 'Sramam,' which when changed into Prākṛt becomes Samam or Sam. In the Aśōkan inscription[7], we find the expression "Sasavatam Samam Yujeyu", meaning, "May display complete, or full energy." 'Vardak' comes from 'Vardha' or 'Vridhi' meaning 'to increase, or to rise.' Therefore "Guśānavasa samvardhaka" would mean "an increaser of the Kuśān family." The Kuśān family, as is natural, could be increased in two ways: firstly by assimilating the other families with a view to consolidation, and secondly by a process of conquest whereby other families may come within the suzerainty of the family king. How far the Kuśān kings experimented these formulae is to be seen.

We know definitely from the Chinese sources[8] that Kujula Kadphises, who belonged to the Kuei-Shuang or Kouei-Chouang clan or Yabgou of the Yuechi race, attacked and vanquished the other four clans or Yabgous namely Hieou-mi, Chouang-mi, Hitouen and Tow-mi, and styled himself Wang or King. This shows that he performed the second experiment *i.e.* increasing the family or the honour of the family by a process of conquest. In this possibly he did not succeed. In the time of Wema Kadphises, the old age of the emperor who succeeded his octogenarian father at a ripe old age, coupled with his vast empire, must have given the other Yabgous an opportunity to rise and bring about disruption and chaos. Kaniṣka, who, as shown elsewhere,[9] succeeded Wema Kadphises as a supplanter, possibly belonged to another group or family in the Kueishuang clan and he must have foreseen the futility of the second experiment performed by Kujula Kadphises, and therefore, with a view to make the empire stable, he experimented consolidation by assimilating the different families or groups in the Kueishuang clan.

There is no direct evidence that is forthcoming to show that Kaniṣka increased his family by a process of assimilation but some

7. Jaugarh II. 14.
8. Sten Konow: Corpus Vol. II. liv.
9. A paper on an Examination of the titles of the Imperial Kuśāns read at the Indian History Congress, Calcutta.

scattered Tibetan and Chinese sources do help in establishing this. In the Tibetan version of Mahārāja Kaniskalekha[10], there is an expression by which Kaniṣka is addressed as born in the Kuśā race or family. In the Chinese translation of the Sutralankar of Aśvaghosa[11], there is a passage which mentions that in the Kuśā race or family there was a king named Kaniṣka. Now if we rely on the Tibetan and Chinese sources, then Kaniṣka belonged to the Kuśā family which may have been a part and parcel of the Kueichouang clan. His family may be called the little Yuechis who are also mentioned in the Chinese accounts[12]. Scholars have tried to identify the Kuśā family with the Kuśān family, but no explanation has been offered for the little Yuechis. It is not improbable that in the disruption, Kaniṣka supplanted the Kadphises group and in his turn tried to assimilate the bigger and the smaller Yuechis of the Kueichouang clan. This would certainly be a diplomatic attempt for consolidation.

By a process of induction also we may just see how far this appears probable. In the inscriptions of the Kuśāns there is hardly any reference to the Kuśā family but in the latter inscriptions of the Kuśāns we find them styling themselves as Kuśānputro[13]. This shows that Kaniṣka had wiped off the distinction and discrimination between the Kuśā and the Kuśān groups in the Kuei-Chouang Yabgou for one seemed to belong to the bigger Yuechi tribe and the other to the smaller or the little Yuechi tribe. This was indeed essential for the purpose of consolidation and for increasing the Kuśān clan so that it may be able to present a united front to any other Yabgou who might care to face it. Etymologically also there appears to be some distinction between the Kuśāns of one group comprising Kujula Kadphises and Wema Kadphises, and of another group comprising Kaniṣka and Huviṣka. That this act of consolidation by assimilation was successful can very well be inferred from the fact that the Kuśān kings continued to rule for a pretty long time and in the fourth century

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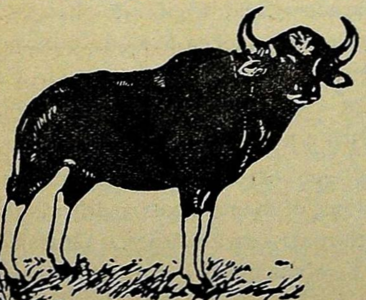
10. J. R. A. S. 1914. p. 79.
11. Indian Antiquary 1903. p. 385.
12. Sten Konow: Corpus II. i. Part xxvi.
13. J. R. A. S. 1924. p. 400.

A.D. there were Kuśān princes with the titles Daivaputras, Shāhis Shāhānushāhs, who were the neighbours of Emperor Samudra-Gupta. On the authority of C. J. Marquart 'Evanzabe' [14] it may be stated that the disintegration of the Kuśān race in its natural name was not done till the fifth century *A.D.* It is just possible that their fall was brought about by the Huns who by destroying the Kuśān race assumed the Iranian title Shāhi Shāhānushāhi, as we find in the inscription of Toramana. This stability of the Kuśān race for a period of about five hundred years would not have been possible unless Kaniṣka had consolidated the Kuśān family by a process of assimilation with a view to minimise the chances of disruption.

Thus the importance of the Māṇkiāli inscription lies in the fact that it shows how far Kaniṣka tried by a process of assimilation to consolidate the Kuśān family. The very fact that it continued to exist for a long time is a sufficient vindication for the successful attempt made by King Kaniṣka and that he was imitated by later kings also can be inferred from the Nanāghāt inscription [15], where we find a king publicly declaring himself to be the increaser of the Amgiya family (Amgiya Kula Vadhana). In view of the fact that we can draw conclusions from the phrase 'Guśānavāsa samvardhaka', which can be testified by evidences, there is no reason to suggest that it should qualify a petty general like 'Lala' for the phrase happens to be near his name. The phrase thus has a strong bearing on the Kuśān history.

14. J. R. A. S. 1914. p. 85.
15. Archæological Survey Report of *Western India* Vol. V. p. 60, line 3.



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MADURA AND TAMIL LITERARY TRADITION

BY V. SRINIVASAN, M.A., A.I.I.B.

MADURA, the ancient Pāṇḍyan capital which is much in the limelight of publicity today on account of its lead to Tamil Nad in the matter of temple-entry to Avarnas, has a literary tradition which is centuries old and unique in India. It has been the seat of famous academies of learning and many are the honoured names in Tamil literature associated with it.

While we do not know much about the First Tamil Sangam established by sage Agasthya or even about the Second Tamil Sangam which flourished at Kavadapuram and was submerged in the deluge with that city about the time of the Mahābhārata War, it is with the Third Sangam that much of the creative work of the Agustan age of Tamil literature is usually associated. This academy flourished at Madura for nearly two thousand years, from the days of Thirumaran to Ugra Peruvaluthi, the famous victor of Thalaialankanam one of the decisive battles in South Indian history. Less important was the Fourth Tamil Sangam which flourished between 600 and 750 *A.D.* and the honoured names of Perundevanar, Thirumangai Āḻvār and the author of *Naladiyar* were associated with it. The Fifth of the Sangams was established in Madura at the time of Thirutthakka Thevar and the life and soul of the movement was Poyyamoli Pulavar but the Fifth Sangam was not a very distinguished academy and it fell into decay. The present Sangam in Madura, generally spoken of as the sixth in the line of the famous academies, was sponsored by Pandi Thorai Thevar, the late Zamindar of Palavanatham who was a liberal patron of letters and was himself a poet.

Old as the literary tradition of Madura is, several writers of all classes of people—Hindus, Muhammadans and Christians—have appeared even during the past two centuries. Vannakkalaji Pulavar, for instance, was a Muhammadan scholar well-versed

in Sanskrit, Tamil and Malayalam and Ghulam Kadar Navalar, the author of a Pulavar Attuppadai was another Mussalman name in modern Tamil literature. As for Christian writers mention may be made of Robert de Nobili who made numerous conversions in Madura and Constantius Beschi known to fame as Veerama Munivar. Beschi was Dewan to Chanda Sahib and spent some time at Madura.

In any consideration of Tamil literature the anonymous author of the *Tholkappiam* a native of Madura beckons to us from the outset. Not a little of our knowledge of ancient Tamilakam is derived from this most famous grammarian.

But a more important name is Nakkirar who wrote the *Thirumurukarruppadai* and the *Nedunālvadai*, two of the ten idylls included in the *Patthupāttu* anthology, the *Nedunālvadai* being dedicated to Nediunchelian, the victor of Thalaialankanam. Nakkirar's works are of high historical value and are noteworthy for beautiful descriptions of Madura which is praised in the *Thirumurukarruppadai* as one of the six places especially sacred to Lord Muruga. The poet was the President of the Third Tamil Sangam and a temple in the West Masi Street, Madura, known as the Sangathar koil is said to commemorate his name.

Madura is described in greater detail in Maruthanar's *Madurai Kañci* another of the ten *Patthupāttu* idylls. Nearly five hundred lines of *Madurai Kañci* describe the city in five-fold divisions into *thinai* followed by details of the bazaars, gates and other symbols of the civilisation prevalent in the city of Madura. We have numerous references to the Buddhist and Jain shrines of the city and the poet dwells on the transitoriness of human existence and the worthlessness of worldly splendour in attaining salvation.

Descriptions of Madura are also found in the *Paripādal* group of poems which belong to the class of poetry treating of *aka-thinai*. Four from the twenty-four pieces in the group describe the city while six others describe the Vaigai river on which Madura stands. Of greater historical value is *Ahanānooru* another group of poems in the *Ettuthokai* to which collection *Paripādal* also belongs. *Ahanānooru* was composed by Rudrasanmanar who came of a

family of Madura and was dedicated to Ugra Peruvaludhi. An edition of *Ahanānooru* was recently published by Vidwan R. Raghava Iyengar.

Several Nāga poets from Ceylon graced the Third Tamil Sangam and some of them are known to have written excellent poetry. Several descriptions of South Indian cities including Madura are met with in these works and particularly in Nattathanar's *Siruppanarruppadai* the idyllic charm which has impressed many a reader.

We come to the age of Jain and Buddhist influences in Tamilakam and of the Fourth Tamil Sangam. A great name is Vajranandhi; and *Nāladiyār*, one of the eighteen didactic classics known as *Pathinen keeḻ kanakku* was an important production of the Fourth Tamil Sangam. *Kārnāppathu*, a work of metrical beauty was another group in the eighteen and was written by Kuthanar, son of Kannanār, a Vaiṣṇava citizen of Madura. Puthan Chenthanar author of the popular *Iniathunārpathu* was also a native of Madura as was Puthanar who collected the *Innilai* verses.

Great were the services of this Madura Sangam to the cause of Tamil letters. The standards established by it were very exacting and instances have come to us of its oppression in several cases where persons who were discomfitted returned home in the mutilation of limb. It was left to the learned author of the *Kural* to smash the arrogance of the academy. Tradition says that Thiruvalluvar and his sister Auvvai (not to be confounded with the famous contemporary of Kambar) came to Madura and placed his treatise of virtue on the *sangappalakai* and that as soon as the heavy cadjan leaves were placed the pandits of the academy were thrown into the Lotus Tank while the board held the book alone. Thus the sacred *Kural* received the hallmark of recognition and the Sangam itself fell into comparative disrepute.

Kuralasiriar was a contemporary of Perunarkilli and among the translations of his book into foreign languages we have one by the famous missionary Beschi who has given us a Latin version.

It is well-known that Tiruvalluvar's good-natured wife Vasuki the only daughter of a well-to-do Vellala of Puhār died during the absence of her husband at Madura and that on coming to know the sad news on his way back from his victory at the Tamil Sangam, the poet unburdened himself in verses noted for their great pathos and beauty.

Auvvai is honoured as the Sappho of Tamil literature and she was a friend of Athikan. Before she went to the latter's court she was a resident of Madura but she subsequently spent sometime in the Cōḷa country also. She wrote nearly one thousand verses.

Another writer of the period requiring mention is Kallādanār who wrote of the miracles of Śiva at Madura in one hundred ahavals. And a royal poetess was Pootha Pāṇḍyan Devi who committed *sati*.

The Jains and the Buddhists contributed much to Tamil literature and their settlements in the Madura country lasted for nearly one hundred years. The famous Kūṇ Pāṇḍya was a Jain and as will be noticed presently he became a convert to Hinduism and his reign was the beginning of the end of Jaina influence. It may be pointed out, in passing, that Ceethalai Chatthanar the author of *Manimekhalai* one of the *chefs' d' oeuvre* of Tamil literature lived at Madura.

No name in the annals of Tamil literature is so honoured as that of Manikkavāsagar of Vathavoor the famous minister of a Pāṇḍya ruler whose reign saw the rise of Āgamic literature. Manikkavāsagar profoundly influenced Thāyumānavar and Rāmalingasvāmigal and popular legends tell us of the transformation effected by divine agency of jackals into horses and of floods breaking the dam across the Vaigai, and of how the sage, disgusted with service under the Pāṇḍyan ruler, resigned his appointment and left the court. He is said to have proceeded to Cidambaram and vanquished the Buddhists (heretics) who had come from Ceylon. Manikkavāsagar died at the early age of thirty-two and he was the author of *Thiruvāçagam* and *Thirukkōvayār.*

When Kūṇ Pāṇḍya was reigning in Madura his queen Mangayarkarasi extended an invitation to Gnānasambandar the boy-prodigy to visit Madura. He was then at Vedaranyam and his fame had spread far and wide. Responding to the invitation of the Pāṇḍyan queen Gnānasambandar came to Madura along with his friend Appar and worsted the Jains in religious disputation. The Pāṇḍya king who was a Jain himself became a convert to Śaivism and tradition says that eight hundred Jains were impaled on that occasion and that the annual festival conducted in Madura even today is connected with this gruesome act of persecution. The downfall of Jainism in South India is traced to this period. Both Gnānasambandar and Appar are honoured in large portions of the *Periapurānam* but less than four hundred of the former's *Thevāram* hymns have survived the ravages of time. The remaining verses of the work said to have originally numbered over one thousand are not extant now.

Of the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs, Thirumangai Mannan appears to have visited Madura as also Periyāḻvār of Srivilliputtur. The latter was the foster-father of Āndāl, the celebrated author of the *Tiruppāvai* hymns and he visited Madura at the command of Lord Vatapatrasayanar to establish Śri Narayana as the *para-tatva.* He succeeded in his mission and Śri Vallabha Deva Pāṇḍya was the reigning prince at Madura at whose court the Āḻvār won his triumph.

We turn next to the famous and interesting trio, Kamban, Ottakkootthan and Pugalendhi. Kamban was a poet of Kulottunga Cōḻa's court but he is said to have died at Madura. Ottakkootthan visited Madura to negotiate the hand of a Pāṇḍya princess for Kulottunga but Pugalendhi who was the poet at the Pāṇḍyan court praised the glories of Madura, and unable to convince him of the superiority of the Cōḻa land over which his master Ottakkootthan had to return and his master subsequently came to Madura in person and solemnised the wedding. The Pāṇḍyan king bestowed Pugalendhi also as a dowry but his presence in the Cōḻa court was an eyesore for Ottakkootthan. There were great scenes of rivalry and animosity and Pugalendhi had to serve a long term of imprisonment on account of the machinations of Ottakkootthan, the *venba-puli,* who was all powerful.

There was a break in the Tamil literary tradition soon after the Kalatra epoch. But greater changes were wrought in the configuration of South Indian politics as a result of the Muhammadan invasion early in the fourteenth century. Except for the rule of the Vijianagar Viceroys in the South and their Nāyak successors the Madura country passed through a period of utter confusion which included a brief spell of Muhammadan rule which lasted for about eighty years. Madura was not then a nest of singing birds and not many notables are met with in the literature of this later day period. Mention must be made, however, of Nachinarkiniyar, a native of Madura, who wrote a commentary on the *Tholkappiyam* which is noted for the modernity of its spirit and method. Parimelalagar a great Sanskrit scholar of Okkur lived in Madura and composed a commentary on the *Thirukkural*. Yet another writer was Nirambalagiya Desikar of Madura, author of *Sethupuranam* based on materials found in the *Skandapuranam* regarding the Sethu and Rāmeśvaram. Nirambalagiya Desikar was the preceptor of Athivirarāmapāṇḍyan, the author of *Naishatham* and *Vetriverkai*. The latter had an elder brother Varathunga Pāṇḍyan by name who was the author of *Piramothirakandam*, a work now extant.

Three other names require mention before we conclude this study of the bead roll of honour. One is Paranjoti Munivar a tambiran of the Madura Mutt. He was a great Āgama scholar and he composed the *Thirunilaiādal* poems. The name of Poyyamoli Pulavar of Turayoor in the Cōḻa country is associated with an attempt to revive the Tamil sangam and he appears to have visited Madura in this connection. But Vanangamudi Pāṇḍya the ruler of Madura ignored the scheme and nothing came out of it. Mention may be made of another native of Madura, Padikkasu Pulavar, who adorned the court of Raghunatha Setupathi. Muhammadan poets in Tamil and missionary names like Tatvabodha Samy (De Nobili) and Viramamunivar the author of *Thembavani* have already been mentioned, while the Zamindar of Palavanatham, the Maecenas of Tamil learning in recent times has also a place in the literary tradition of the Madura country.

PROTO-INDIC RELIGION *

By S. Śrīkaṇṭha Śāstri, M.A.

IV

Astrologico-magical significance:—Some of the amulets and figurines seem to be astrological; this is not surprising in view of the fact that the evil influence of the stars (*nakṣatras*) was recognised quite well. Though the actual representation of the moon or the stars is absent yet the crescent shape of the seal at Harappa, the figures of a scorpion and a man with water jars suspended from a pole, seem to refer to the houses of the Zodiac. Mackay refers to jugate heads—a bull and a horned head facing opposite sides from the same base (Pl. LXXVI No. 26). Frankfort takes similar heads at Tell Asmar to have astrological significance. Another double headed figure (Mackay. Pl. LXXVI. No. 8.) is not Ardhanārī for both heads are male. Mackay suggests parallel with Marduk and the late Egyptian god Amūn. But a similar Janus-headed god Ismu is found introducing worshippers to Shamash on the early Sumerian seals. Prajāpati is said to have two *mukhas*, one to grasp Brahman, the other to create progeny.

इमं तमुपस्थं मधुना संसृजामि । प्रजापतेर्मुखमेतद्द्वितीयम् ।
तेनपुंसोऽभिभवसि सर्वानवशान् वशिन्यसि राज्ञी स्वाहा ॥

(*Chh. Mantra* Bhāshya III-2)

Guṇaviṣṇu explains:

द्विमुखोहि प्रजापतिः एकं मुखं ब्रह्मग्रहणार्थं अपरं प्रजोत्पादनार्थं ॥

The other "mouth" is probably the "yōni". Asur (Asiri or Marduk) is sometimes two-headed and was worshipped in the form of a pillar or tree-trunk.

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* Continued from Vol. XXXII. No. 2. Page 177.

Gadd[34] says that the astronomical character of at least three of the seals of the Indus style found in Mesopotamia is certain. He is of the opinion that "the use of astronomical symbols so characteristic of Babylonia reinforces the suggestion of the seal with the cuneiform inscription that Ur and. other cities did not simply receive these objects as a strange foreign import but took some part in moulding them." One Indus sign is used as a figure in a shell plaque at Mohenjo Daro (Marshall pl. 132 No. 10). But the waterman as such was unknown to Babylonia both in name and figure, the corresponding stars were called Mul Gu-la (the great star). There is no representation of the astral waterman in Babylonian art. Gadd points out the astral character of the devices on the following seals:

No. 12. The water-carrier-Aquarius suggested by two stars.

No. 11. Scorpio.

No. 18. Two men side by side. Gemini.

No. 6-7 Bull, scorpion, man with a star-head, two small snakes, a palm tree and rayed object (manger ?) near the bull.

No. 14. Bull with the Moon God (?)

No. 4. Fish (Pisces) is a common sign. The armed man may be the Archer (Sagittarius).

To these we may add No. 8, a seal of grey steatite. Two figures carry a vase and one of them holds a goat (?) by the neck. They have the Sumerian fleece dress. This seal shows the combination of Sumerian and Indian elements. Another seal in the British Museum is made of steatite and glazed. There are five characters at the top—two homo signs side by side, a fish and two other signs. Below them there is a bull mating with a cow. The penis is clearly shown and the tail of the cow is ornamented like arrow heads. This is also perhaps of ritual or astrological significance. It recalls to mind the Egyptian sky god Śibu copulating with the earth-cow Nuit. In the Hindu marriage ceremonies (Atharva XIV-71) there is a similar idea. The husband says "Male am I, woman thou, chant am I, the verse thou; Heaven (*dyaus*) am I, the earth (*pṛthvi*) art thou." The *Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa*

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34. Gadd. *Seals of Ancient Indian Style found at Ur.*

(III-7-1) and Āpastamba (IX-2-3) add तावेऽहि संभवाव सहरेतोदधावहै पुम्से पुत्राय वेत्तवै. The *Pārashara Gṛhya Sūtra* makes it even more elaborate. तावेऽहि विवहावहै सहरेतोदधावहै प्रजां प्रजनयावहै पुत्रान् विन्दावहै बहून् ते सन्तु जरदष्टय: ।

Frankfort takes the Sumerian seals with the sun god travelling in a self-propelled serpent-sterned boat with moon and stars and a plough as of no astronomical significance but as showing the sun's journey below the earth at night. From the period of the First Dynasty of Babylon the astrological hypothesis is more probable. The *lagna* or ascendant and the houses of the planets may have been indicated. Of the zodiacal signs in the Babylonian form only two, Cancer and Sagittarius do not occur in the seals of the first Dynasty of Babylon. He proposes the following identifications.

Aries—Labourer—Small human figures (?)
Taurus—Bull—Usual form.
Gemini—Tālim—Twins. Two nude heroes or a hero and a bull-man.
Leo—Lion.
Virgo—*Banát rihutum*—Goddess Shala with ears of corn. "who creates seed"
Libra—Modern forms.
Scorpio— ,,
Sagittarius—Only in the Kassite period occurs as Scorpion man or Centaur shooting with bow and arrow.
Capricorn—Embodied in Ea's goat-fish. Same form even now.
Aquarius—Nude hero and flowing vase or a female with flowing vase—Gula.
Pisces—"Tails"; a mermaid and bird.

Of the planets these are well established.

Sun—Shamash
Moon—Sin
Mars—Nergal
Mercury—Nabu
Jupiter—Marduk
Venus—Ishtar
Saturn—Ninurta

Frankfort considers the probability of the seals representing horoscopes. Schott (*Z.D.M.G.* 13. 1934 p. 313) says that some of the horoscopes are not only of individuals but also of the realm or Kings. One legend says "this sign does not apply to householder, but to the whole realm." Therefore some horoscopes belonged to individuals. But Frankfort objects: "We have no right to assume that astrology was thought to be relevant to the affairs of private citizens." Astronomy as a comparatively exact science dates only from the late Assyrian times. The most remarkable development can be dated to C. 700 *B. C.* and ascribed to the northern town of Calah (Nimrud). . . . The astral significance of the symbols on the boundary stones was at first much over-rated. . . . But at the same time in the days of Ammiza-duga (C. 1890 *B. C.*) very precise and valuable observations of the planet Venus were made. These remain inexplicable on the assumption that astronomy only dated from the eighth or seventh century *B.C.* In the early dynastic or Akkadian seals, the written sources supply no justification for invoking astrology as an aid to the explanation of the seal designs. . . . It is almost certain that the signs of the zodiac and the constellations are figured on the Kassite boundary stones (*Kudurru*). According to Ward the names of the signs occur in the Isin-Larsa period (2000 *B.C.*). Two seals of the Second Syrian group (1700-1200 *B.C.*) have seven holes depicting the Pleiades.

The Egyptian signs of the zodiac are:—

Aries—Ru Śarukku
Taurus—Te menmu
Gemini—Maśu
Cancer—Pulukku. (scarab).
(Pulugu—Dravidian ?.)
Leo—Aru.
Virgo—Śerū.
Libra—Zibanītu.
Scorpio—Aqrabu.
Archer—Pa. (double-headed centaur in Babylonia and in Greece also two-faced Tenkros.)
Capricornus—Enzu.
Amphora—Gu.
Pisces—Zib.

In 3500 *B.C.* the solstitial colures lay in Aquarius and Leo and the equinoctical colures in Taurus and Scorpio. Libra is a later addition and it is not mentioned by Eudoxus, Aratus and Hipparchus who have only eleven. Sagittarius and Scorpio were originally one. A scorpion man holds a bow. Two centaurs have tails, one like that of a horse and another like a scorpion's tail.

The Chinese order of the houses of the zodiac differs entirely (reading backwards) and may have been borrowed from India.

Virgo—Twin women.
Leo—Lion.
Cancer—Crab.
Gemini—Man and woman. (Mithuna in India, two brothers in the west).
Taurus—Bull.
Aries—Ram.
Pisces—Fishes.
Aquarius—Dolphin.
Capricorn—Vases.
Sagittarius—Bow.
Scorpio—Scorpion.
Libra—Balance.

Heras[35] thinks that the Indus people knew only eight signs of the Zodiac:—the ram (mēṣa), harp (yāḷ), crab (kaṭaka), mother (kanyā ?), scale (tulā), arrow (scorpio), jar (kumbha) and fish (mīna). The others Taurus, Leo, Gemini, Sagittarius and Capricornus were unknown. This is too fantastic for serious acceptance.

On the Indus seals we can identify some of the symbols of the zodiac. In the *Bṛhajjātaka* (I-5), Varāhamihira gives the descriptions of the houses.

मत्स्यौ घटी नृमिथुनं सगदं सवीणं चापीनरोऽश्वजघनो मकरो मृगास्यः ||
तौळी ससस्य दहना प्लवगा च कन्या शेषास्स्वनाम सदृशास्स्वचराश्च सर्वे ||

Mīna (pisces) is represented by two fish facing each other's tails; Kumbha is a man holding an empty pot on his shoulders;

35. Heras. *New Review*, V. P. 260. *J. of Bombay University*, V. P. 8 *J.I.H.* XVI. etc.

Gemini is represented by a pair—the male holding a club (gadā) and the female with a Viṇa; Dhanus—a centaur holding a bow; Makara is an alligator with an animal face; Tulā is a man holding a balance; Kanyā is a woman on a raft holding plants and a lamp in her hands; Mēṣa is a ram; Vriṣabha a bull; Cancer a crab; Leo a lion; Scorpio a scorpion. Varāhamihira follows Yavanēś-vara and uses the Greek terms Kriyā, Tāburi, Jituma, Lēya, Pāthōna Jūka, Kaurpi, Taukshika and Ākōkēra (I-8). Kuḷīra for Karkāṭaka, and Hṛdrōga for Kumbha are also used.

The supplementary book (XIX) of the Atharva Veda has a hymn to the Nakṣatras composed by the Ṛṣi Gārgya (No. 7-8). The list begins as in the *Taittirīya Samhita* IV-4-10 with the Kṛttikas. Atharva includes Abhijit as the twenty-eighth nakṣatra. The *Taittirīya Samhita* has Tiṣya and Śrōṇa for the Atharvan Puṣya and Śravaṇa. In Atharva (XIX-9) we have references to the seven planets (*graha*) moving in the sky; the meteor smitten Nakṣatra; planets belonging to the moon, sun with Rāhu, Kētu (dhūma kētu) like death. Ṛg Veda (V. 40-59) refers to Svarbhānu attacking the sun. Varuṇa's path made for the sun (Ṛg I-28-8) is evidently the zodiacal belt.[36] Ludwig thought that in Ṛg Veda (I-110-2; X-86-4) there are references to the inclination of the ecliptic to the equator and to the axis of the earth. The *dvadaśādityas* evidently refer to the twelve parts of ecliptic or signs of the zodiac according to the twelve months. Among the planets at least five are known. Śukrā and Manthin which have something to do with the mysterious Śaṇḍāmarkau[37] are called *grahas* (cups) and Tilak was inclined to take them as planets. The references to the thirty-four ribs of the house and to thirty-four lights (Ṛg I-162-6; X-55-3) are taken by Ludwig and

36. Also *Tai. Sam.* उरुं हि राजा वरुणश्चकार सूर्याय पन्थाम्।

37. अपनुत्तः शण्डः अपनुत्तोऽमर्कः अपनुत्तौ शण्डामर्कौ सहामुना

(*Tai Sam* I-1.)

Śaṇḍa and Marka or Amarka are supposed to be two priests of the Asuras. In the later Puraṇas the Rākṣasa. Śaṇḍāmarka is supposed to attack the Sun but is driven out by *arghya*. For the Hittite God Sandon see *JAOS* Dec. 1940. *American Journal of Archaeology*, Vol. 41, 1937. Sayce *JRAS* 1927.

Zimmer as the sun, moon; five planets and twenty-seven nakṣatras. Abhijit may have been the old pole-star.

In the Atharva Vēda (VI-110) we have references to the unlucky constellations Jyēsṭhā and Mūla.

Born in Jyēshṭhaghnī, in Yama's two unfasteners, do thou (Agni) protect him from the uprooter (Mūla barhaṇa).

On the Tiger-day hath been born the hero, asterism born, born rich in heroes, let him not growing, slay his father or mother that gave him birth.

Jyēsṭhā is identified by Burgess and Bentley with Antares and by Colebrook with Alpha Scorpionis. Mūla is Lambda Scorpionis according to Burgess and Colebrook, 34, 35, Scorpionis according to Bentley. Jyēsṭhā has three stars according to Brahmagupta and Vṛddha Gārgya. Mūla has two stars (referred to as the unfasteners—Visṛtau in Atharva) according to Brahmagupta, four stars according to Vṛddha Gārgya and nine according to the Sūrya Prajñapti of the Jainas. The deity presiding over Mūla is now Nirṛti and not Yama who presides over Bharaṇī.

In the wedding hymn (Atharva XIV-13) we are told that in the Maghas (Sickle in Leo or Regulus) are the Kine slain, in Phalguṇis is the wedding. Phalguṇis or Arjunī are in Leonis (*Ṛg.* X-85-13). The deities of Magha are Pitṛs and of Phalguṇis Bhaga and Aryaman.

Again (Book III-7) we have references to the two blessed stars the unfasteners (उदागतां भगवती Paippalāda), the two stars of Mūla and to "what shines yonder, like a four sided roof (*Chhadi*)" a constellation identified by Whitney with the Arab Manzil (a tent) in Aquarii the twenty-eighth nakṣatra of the Sūrya Siddhānta (?). These are asked to cure hereditary diseases (*kṣētrīya*).

We have seen that the Chinese order of the signs of the zodiac begins from Kanyā. The twenty-eight nakṣatra system is peculiar only to India and China and in China the nakṣatra order begins from Kanyā.

1.	Horn	Kanyā 11°	...	Chitra
2.	Neck	„	...	Svāti

3.	Bottom	Tula	18°	...	Viśākha
4.	Room	Vṛschika	5°	...	Anurādha
5.	Heart	„	8°	...	Jyēsṭā
6.	Tail	„	15°	...	Mūla
7.	Sieve	Dhanus	9°	...	P. Aṣāḍha
8.	Measure	„	24°	...	U. „
9.	Ox	„	8°	...	Abhijit ?
10.	Maid	Makara	11°	...	Śravaṇa
11.	Void	„	10° and Equides ...		Dhaniṣṭha
12.	Danger	Aquarius	20° and Pegasus ...		Śatabhiṣa
13.	House	„	18° „	...	P. Bhādra
14.	Wall	„	13° Pegasus and Andromeda ...		U. Bhādra
15.	Astride	„	11° Andromeda, and Pisces ...		Revati
16.	Hump	Aries	13° „	...	Aśvini
17.	Stomach	„	12° Musa Borealis		Bharaṇi
18.	Pleiades	„	9°	...	Kṛttika
19.	End	Vṛṣabha	15° Hyades and Taurus	...	Rohiṇī
20.	Beak	„	6° Orion	...	Mṛgaśira
21.	Crossing	Mithuna	11° „	...	Ārdrā
22.	Well	„	31° Gemini	...	Punarvasu
23.	Ghost	Kaṭaka	5° Cancer	...	Puṣya
24.	Willow	„	17° Hydra	...	Āśleśa
25.	Star	„	8° „	...	Magha
26.	Drawn bow	Siṃha	18° „	...	P. Phalguṇi
27.	Wing	„	17° „ and Crator		U. „
28.	Back of carriage seat	„	13° Corvus	...	Hasta

The Semitic people of Babylonia made very little original contribution to the science of astronomy. They gave no names to the week days nor had the Babylonians a week, their sabbath being the fifteenth of the month . . . The Āryans on the other hand dedicated one week day to a god (?). The Greek week days are those of Christian times (F.G.R. Forlang). Rawlinson also says " there is further no evidence to show that the Medes

or even Babylonians were acquainted with the order of the planets which regulated the nomenclature of the week. The series in question indeed must have originated with a people who divided the day and night into sixty hours instead of twenty-four and so far as we know at present this system of horary division was peculiar in ancient times to the Hindu calendar ... The popular belief which appears in Dion Cassius that the series refers to a horary division of twenty-four is incorrect for in that case also the order is the same but the succession is inverted."

Jacobi has pointed out that there are unmistakable references in the Arthaśāstra to the planets Śukra and Bṛhaspati. Nakṣatra Vidya as a profession is mentioned in the Vājasaneya Samhita (XXX-10) and Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa (III-4-4-1). The Upaniṣads Cāndogya and Bṛhadāraṇyaka also refer to it.

The contrast between the Babylonian zodiacal and Indian Nakṣatra systems (I-A. 1919) is thus emphasised by some. The Indian system is lunar but the Babylonian is solar. The Babylonians chose three stars as councillor-gods of the planets; and they began the first sign with the vernal equinox. They are supposed to have had a week of seven or five days whereas in the Brāhmaṇas there was a week of six days, five of such weeks forming a month. In Babylonia the months were named after the zodiacal sign whereas in the Brāhmaṇas the months are named according to the Nakṣatras on which the moon became full. The Brāhmaṇa list of asterisms began with the Pleiades but there is no evidence of this in Babylonia.

But it should be noted that now, as in the Vedic period, the tied year is observed over all India except in the Tamil country.[38] The Vēdāngajyotiṣa has a solar calendar, correct over long periods and this implies mapping *out the nakṣatras* (before 1400 *B.C.*). Moreover the week days are mentioned in the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra (II-5-9) before fifth century *B.C.* and in Divyāvadāna (translated into Chinese in the

38. Neugebauer (*Acta Orientalia* XVIII. pt. 3. 1938. p. 169) shows that the ordinary calendar of 365 days can be developed even by illiterate peasants, and does not presuppose a systematic observation of the stars.

third century *A.D.*) and in Śārdūlakarṇāvadāna. The Egyptian week was a ten day week. Philostratus states "the Indian sage Iarchas gave Appolonius seven rings each bearing the name of one of the seven stars and that he wore them alternately according to the particular name of the day." This clearly indicates that week days named after the planets were unknown in the west in the centuries *B.C.* In view of the references in the Vedic literature and of recent researches regarding the correct observations of the planet Venus in the time of Ammizaduga,[39] we must discount such statements as "that the theory of the ecliptic does not appear to have been perfected until after 539 *B.C.*", "in the middle of the fourth century *B.C.* Babylonian astrology began its triumphal march to the west invading the domain by Greek and Roman culture", "the endeavour to trace the horoscope of the individual from the position of the planets and stars at the time of birth (or conception) represents the most significant contribution of the Greeks to astrology." No doubt the primary occupation of the astrologers was with the fate of empires and not the fate of private individuals. But judicial astrology was not invented by the Greeks and the Chaldæans in the two or three centuries preceding the Christian era. In China there is an early record of a combination of five planets between 2514 and 2436 *B.C.* A conjunction of Mars, Jupiter, Saturn and Mercury in the constellation of *Shi* (*Kṛttikā* ?) occurred in the time of the Emperor Chuen-hio. Desvignoles and Kirch think that the combination took place on 18th February 2446 *B.C.* in Pisces (10°-18°). De Mailla fixed the date as 9th February 2441 *B.C.* when the four planets and the moon were between 15° to 27° of Pisces. Svāmikaṇṇupillai[40] questions the accuracy of the calculation and De Mailla's date was perhaps meant to be 2nd March 2449 *B.C.* But the planets were not in Mīna at all but in Vṛśabha and Kṛttika nakṣatra (probably corresponding to the Chinese *Shi*). If Chinese astronomy was indebted to India as it is likely, the planets must have been known in India even before that date. The Chinese were ignorant of planetary motions and precessions.

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39. Frankfort. *Cylinder Seals.*
40. Svamikannu Pillai. *Indian Ephemeris* I. pt. 1. Ap.

Sidney Smith says that Babylonians did not know of the precession of the equinoxes before 314 *B.C.* and so they would not have used the 25,920 years cycle in which the sun revolves through the twelve houses. As regards eclipses, a Babylonian record refers to an eclipse on 20th June, 1070 *B.C.* The most ancient cycles were the Saros of 18 years and 10·7 days, the Metonic cycles of 19 years, a cycle of 29 years less 20·6 days, 58 years less 41·107 days and 521 years, and 1711 years. Indian astronomical works use also long cycles of 432,000 years and 4,320,000 years.

In view of all this we can say that the Babylonians observed only eclipses and the motion of the planet Venus (Ishtar) and otherwise were quite ignorant of the week days, signs of the zodiac, cycles of recurrence, precession of the equinoxes, the nakṣatras and the method of calculating the lagna, before the fifth century *B.C.*

In India solar eclipses were regularly observed and Atri is said to have observed an eclipse through an instrument called *turiya.*[41] Though the signs of the zodiac are rarely mentioned before the Mahābhārata, the twelve rāśis were known and so also the ascendant. B. B. Datta shows that there are clear evidences in the Samhitas and Brāhmaṇas of the knowledge of precession of equinoxes. Kaushītaki Brāhmaṇa (19-3; V-I), shows that the summer solsticial colure passed very nearly through Delta Leonis, *i.e.* in 3100 *B.C.* Taittirīya Samhita (VIII-4-8) has reference to the winter solstice falling on Ēkāṣṭaka day, *i.e.* C. 2850 *B.C.* Once the full moon of Maghā indicated the winter solstice, another full moon at Kṛttikā indicates the autumnal equinox. The probable date is 2350 *B.C.* The Sāmvatsara sacrifices began from days before full moon at Maghā (2050 *B.C.*). The sun turning south at the beginning of Nakṣatra Maghā indicates 1900 *B.C.* Lastly the Vedāngas state that the sun turned south at the middle of Āslēṣa and north at the beginning of Dhaniṣṭhā (C. 1400 *B.C.*).

As regards the date of the Vedas S. V. Venkatēśvara[42] assigns Ṛg Veda to the neolithic period (like Rājavāde) and from

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41. P. C. Sen Gupta. *Ramakrishna Commemoration Volume.*
42. S. V. Venkateswara. *Proceedings of Fifth and Sixth Oriental Conf.*

Ṛg VI-55-4 and the legend of Trita takes Ṛg Veda to 10000. *B.C.* A. C. Das to 25000 *B.C*;[43] C. V. Vaidya—3000 *B.C.* for Śatapatha;[44] R. K. Patankar[45] from Tai. Sam. 1-5-5 Chitrāvāsu, deduces 11000 *B.C*; J. C. Roy[46] from Śatapatha II-1-2 before 3000 *B.C.* P. C. Sengupta[47]—before 3500 *B.C.* Jacobi[48] 4000 *B.C.* and earlier, Tilak[49]—10000 *B.C.* for the destruction of the original Āryan home, from the position of Aśvins on Vernal equinox mentioned in Ṛg Veda, we can deduce 6153 *B.C.* (*Modern Review* 1912) Ketkar[50] from the position of Agastya (canopus) deduced 7500 *B.C.* for the growth of the Agastya legend and the references in Taittiriya Brāhmaṇa to Jupiter's first occultation of Puṣya and in Śatapatha to the Pleiades rising due east give the dates 4350 *B.C.* and 3000 *B.C.* Ketkar further thinks that between 3100 and 1400 *B.C.* a solar calendar with a cycle of four years was used.

From the Avestan literature[51] it is inferred that the Iranian calendar began with Cancer, that is the full moon in Cancer began the autumn equinox. Therefore the spring equinox occurred when the sun was in Kaṭaka. This gives a date between 8100 and 1000 *B.C.* Before 2300 *B.C.* when the Pleiades (*Bharaṇi-Kṛttika*-first) marked the spring equinox, the lunar zodiac of twenty-eight Nakṣatras was already well known. As regards the Boghaz Keui and Mitannian records, the omission of Agni in these is very significant. Lesney[52] is probably right when he takes the Mitannian language to be a third and unknown branch of the Āryan group. Zimmerman[53] thinks that the mention of Āryan gods (along with Babylonian and local gods) is due to independent or parallel

43. A. C. Das. *Ṛgveda; Ṛgvedic Culture.*
44. C. V. Vaidya. *History of Sanskrit Literature. An. Bh. Or.* I.
45. R. K. Patankar. *Quarterly of Bh. Sam. Mandal.* 1940.
46. P. C. Roy. *Indian Culture.* July 1939.
47. P. C. Sen Gupta. *J.R.A.S.B.* IV. 1938.
48. Jacobi. *I.A.* XXIII; p. 154.
49. Tilak. *Orion; Arctic Home in the Vedas.*
50. Ketkar. *First Or. Conf.*
51. *Journal of Ranade Association, Madras.* 1912.
52. Lesney. *Arch. Or.* IV. 1932. p. 257.
53. Zimmerman, *Hymns of Ṛgveda. Bom. S.S.*

tradition or less likely, imposed from India. Jacobi and Sten Konow think the gods are purely Indian and not Āryan or Indo-Iranian. R. G. Bhandarkar pointed to *Asuryā nāma tē lōkah*, the country of Asuras or Dasyus and held that in spite of the opposition of the Iranians, the Āryans penetrated into Asia Minor in about 2000 *B.C.*

The following Vedic verses are taken as mantra lingas of the navagrahas in the *Cāndogya Mantra Bhāṣya.*[54]

Sun— आकृष्णेन रजसा वर्तमानो निवेशयन् अमृतं मर्त्यं च ।
हिरण्ययेन सविता रथेन देवो याात भुवनानि पश्यन् ।।

Moon— आप्यायस्व समेतु ते विश्वतः सोम वृष्ण्यं ।
भवावाजस्य संगथे ।।

Mars— अग्निर्मूर्धा दिवः ककुत्पतिः पृथिव्या अयम् ।
अपां रेताँसि जिन्वति ।।

Mercury—अग्ने विवस्वदुषसश्चित्रं राधो अमर्त्ये ।
आदाशुषे जातवेदो वहात्वमद्या देवाँ उषर्बुधः ।।

Jupiter— बृहस्पते परिदीया रथेन रक्षोहा मित्राँ अपबाधमानः ।
प्रभंजन्त्सेनाः प्रमृणो युधाजमन् अस्माकमेध्यविता रथानाम् ।।

Venus— शुक्रते अन्यद्यजतन्ते अन्यद् विषुरूपेऽहनि द्यौरिवासि ।
विश्वाहिमाया अवसि स्वधावन् भद्रा ते पूषन् इहरातिरस्तु ।

Saturn— शंनोदेवीरभिष्टय आपो भवन्तु पीतये । शंयोरभिस्रवन्तुनः ।।

Rāhu— कयानश्चित्र आभुव दूती सदावृधःसखा । कया शचिष्टया वृता ।।

Kētu— केतुंकृण्वन्न केतवे पेशोमर्या अपेशसे । समुषद्भिरजायथाः ।।

Whether the original meaning of these verses had any reference to the planets or not, at an early date they were made use of in Grahayajnas. In any case we can assure that a knowledge of

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54. Guṇaviṣṇu. *Chāndyogya Mantra Bhāṣya.*

the five planets, twenty-eight nakṣatras, the twelve divisions of the zodiac and possibly the seven-day week, was prevalent in the time of the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, not later than 1400 *B.C.* Hence in the light of the Atharva Veda, we can try to identify some of the astronomical signs on the Indus seals.

We have seen that Gadd takes the signs of the fish, the scorpion, two men, bull, water carrier and armed man as of astronomical significance. They may be equated with Mīna, Vṛscika, Mithuna, Vṛṣabha, Kumbha and Dhanus. Perhaps in India Vṛscika and Dhanus were already separate signs. To these we can add the ram or goat, the crab, the tiger (for the lion ?), the female deity, the balance (or man holding balanced pots ?), the goat-fish which give us Mēṣa, Kaṭaka, Simha, Kanyā, Tulā and Makara. A goat or bull with the head of a fish seems to be figured as some of the seals and may be compared with Ea's goat-fish, the symbol for Capricorn.

As regards the Nakṣatras the seven votaries going in procession around a tree deity may represent the Saptaṛṣis or Ursa Major. Of course, the Saptaṛṣis had no motion but by an astronomical fiction they were supposed to spend a hundred years in each nakṣatra and thus a cycle of 2,700 years was used. Varāhamihira refers to the Saptaṛṣis in Kṛttika (C. 3000 *B.C.*) and in Maghā when Yudhiṣṭhira was ruling in 2448 *B.C.* The Saptaṛṣi era is current, pūrṇimānta and Chaitrādi. At present it is used in Kashmir and formerly in Multan.

The star-headed man along with the bull, scorpion and two snakes, may represent Ārdrā (133 Tauri or Alpha Orionis) whose deity is Rudra. Chitra (Spica) whose deity is Tvaṣṭr and Svāti (Arcturus) whose deity is Vāyu have also one star each according to Brahmagupta. Since the star-headed man is seen, as it were, flying in the sky he may represent Vāyu, the deity of Svāti nakṣatra.

The water carrier has two stars above him. These two stars must have been in the sign Kumbha. Pūrvā Bhādrapada whose deity is the mysterious Aja Ēkapād, had two stars according to Brahmagupta. The nakṣatra is identified with Alpha Pegasi.

Only the first pāda of this nakṣatra belongs to the Kumbha rāśi. The previous nakṣatra Śatabhishaj or Śatatāraka (Lambda Aquarii) has the deity Varuṇa, but Brahmagupta assigns only one star to it.

The two stars of Scorpionis may represent Mūla with two stars called the unfasteners (Viśṛtau) in the Atharva. Jyēsṭhaghnī or Jyēsṭha (Antares) whose deity is Indra brings ill-luck and since the goddess Jyēsṭha in later Hindu iconography is represented as naked and sometimes as residing in the Asvattha it is possible that some of the naked women appearing on the seals with separated thighs may represent this deity.

The snakes, twin or copulating may be taken to represent Āślēṣā (Epsilon Hydræ or Alpha 1 and 2 cancri) whose deity is Sarpa.

The hand symbol may be Hasta (in Corvi) with five stars, the presiding deity being Savitr. The branched tree also occurs and may be Viśākhā (in Libra) with two stars, the deity being Indrāgnī, Rōhiṇi and Rēvatī whose deities are Prajāpati and Pūṣan which may be represented by a deer and goat. Mṛgaśirā (Lambda Orionis or 113, 116, 117 Tauri) whose deity is Sōma which may have been represented by the deer heads springing from asvattha and other plants.

The planets are perhaps represented as follows:—

Sun=Bull or a circle and rays.
Moon=Crescent (?), sōma plant (?)
Mars=God of war—Archer? Man with staff.
Mercury=Trader or Hawker. Man with scale (?)
Jupiter=Sage seated.
Venus=Goddess.
Saturn=Man with sickle (?)
Rāhu=Snake-head.
Kēthu=Dhūma Kētu. Star-headed man flying in the sky. Flag.

It is possible that yōgas in the sense of certain combinations were known. They are mathematical rather than astrological and do not represent the actual motion of any planet or set of planets. Mahā Śivarātri, Kapila and Champā Sashṭhis, Ardhōdaya are sacred to Śiva even now.

As regards the seasons, in archaic Chinese inscriptions, Hopkins (*J.R.A.S.* 1937 Jan-July) has identified the following :

Ch'an (Cicada)	=Spring.
Hsia	=Summer.
Chih	=Solstice.
Pu	=To divine.

The expression *pu hsia chih* means to divine as to summer solstice.

Some of these archaic Chinese symbols closely resemble the signs of the Indus script. Just as in the case of the nakṣatras and signs of the zodiac, this is also perhaps a connecting link between India and China. Some scholars have held that the Indus culture is neither Āryan nor Dravidian and that the language is not primitive Dravidian, Munda or Burushaski but primitive Indonesian. Hunter thinks that the Indus signs were borrowed from Austric predecessors. F. O. Schrader (*B.S.O.S.* 8. p. 751. 1936) thinks that the Munda languages are neither Dravidian nor Austric. The Austric theory has few supporters now. Solinea thinks that the quadrangular axe culture of the Muṇḍas and Austronesia came from China. Whether the Mundas and Asuras are akin is also not proved. In any case we can assume that there was contact with China. The Indus population consisted of mongoloids also. The archaic Chinese script now being deciphered may furnish a clue to the Indus script also. The symbols for the Ṛtūs or seasons, four or six, may have resemblances to certain objects—the cicada or grasshopper for spring, a glowing cauldron for summer, rain drops from an arch (sky) for Varṣa, harvest for autumn (perhaps grain). In the early Brāhmi inscriptions it is assumed that only three Ṛtūs—Gimha, Varṣa and Hēmanta, each of four months duration, are mentioned and later Śiśira was added. It is also supposed that reckoning by months is due to Śaka influence. However it may have been in the inscriptions, we know from the Vedic literature that the twelve months Tapah, Tapasya, Madhu, Mādhava, Śukra, Śuci, Nabha, Nabhasya, Iṣa, Ūrja, Sahas and Sahasya, and the six seasons of two months each, Śiśira Vasanta, Griśma, Varṣa, Śarat and Hēmanta were well-known.

The solstices were also carefully observed for the performance of sacrifices in at least 8000 *B.C.* From the winter solstice the Śunā-sirīya and Cāturmāsya sacrifices were begun. Hence it is reasonable to suppose as in China, the symbols for solstices were also used. Since in C. 3500 *B.C.* the solsticial colures lay in Aquarius and Leo, and the equinoctical colures in Taurus and Scorpio the symbols of solstices may have been connected with these signs of the zodiac. Heras assumes that the Indus people were ignorant of Taurus (Yāl for Taurus) and Leo. Any system based only on eight signs of the zodiac is bound to break down soon and it is outraging the capacity of the people who produced such a complex civilization to say that they were incapable of even elementary astronomical calculations. He thinks, probably influenced by some Jaina scholars who hold that the Indus civilization is Jaina, that there was a sect which worshipped two suns. No doubt in the Jaina astronomical works the earth is assumed to be flat, the sun, moon and stars move round the earth; there are four mountain ranges at right angles to each other and therefore we should assume two suns, two moons and two sets of twenty-seven nakṣatras. The moon is supposed to be double the distance of the sun from the earth. Apart from this the Jaina system resembles closely the Vedānga Jyōtiṣa. The sun turned south at the full moon near Abhijit, *i.e.* Śravaṇa. The Sūrya Prajñapti calendar in any case cannot be earlier than the Vedānga Jyōtiṣa and might be far later about the time of Kauṭilya (C. 3 *B.C.*); Shama Śāstri thinks that the Arthaśāstra follows the Vedānga Jyotiṣa system and is undoubtedly pre-Greecian, *i.e.* before Ptolemy (127-151 *A.D.*).

To sum up, we may be sure that some of the Indus seals are of astronomical and astrological character. This does not conflict with the view that they might be amulets. If they are horoscopes, they may refer not to all the private citizens (judicial) but only to high officials and to the affairs of the realm, on the analogy of Babylonia. In certain cases no doubt some individuals got them specially made when threatened by calamities and diseases supposed to be due to astral influences.

(To be concluded)

THE MEMBERS OF THE ANCIENT SOUTH INDIAN ARMY (SĒNAI): THEIR ASSEMBLY AND ITS FUNCTIONS*

By K. S. Vaidyanathan, B.A.

The well-known kings and emperors of India had all to undertake extensive military activities or operations, both with the aim of quelling rebellions in their kingdom, and invasions by others and to launch upon their various schemes of conquests. As such the military mechanism of the kingdom should have been strong and efficient. The greatness of the militia was even reflected on the civil polity of the land; many city-prefects, district officers and chiefs of the Nāḍu and the Ūr etc. were generals and Sēnāpatis. Internal warfare, frequent invasions and expeditions had a telling effect on the population of the kingdom. The infusion of the military spirit had taken deep root in the people and local militias became a common feature. The army head-quarter was often near the capital as for instance Malkhed.[101] The Sēṉāmugam[102] or the head-quarter was certainly more prominent than the other provincial centres where large garrisons were maintained. *Paḍaivīḍu* or encampments were very common.[103] The army of the kingdom was spread over the country in the form of local garrisons and cantonments which were called Kaḍagams.[104] After one of his famous campaigns, Kulōttuṅga I, stationed an army in Kōṭṭāṟu and established military colonies along the road from the Cōḷa country

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* Continued from Vol. XXXII. No. 2. p. 145.

101. Ep. Ind. Vol. IV. p. 66.

102. See also Silap 25. Line 193f.

103. S.I.I. Vol. I. No. 83, 138.

104. See Cōḷas. Vol. II. Pt. I. by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. p. 225. No. 394 of 1921. Cf. The troops quartered in Tirumiḍai maṉṟil (No. 242 of 1907), Ivvūr Paḍaittalaivaṉ (T. A. S. Vol. IV. pp. 134-5).

to that place.[105] A section was stationed in Maḍaviḷāgam in South Arcot.[106] The maintenance of provincial garrisons was very useful in giving ready response to sudden attacks; any army corps could be of immediate service in any direction if garrisons were stationed at different strategically important quarters of the kingdom. These garrisons were of course summoned together when a scheme of conquest was launched upon.

Recruitment to the army was not restricted and it was open to all classes alike. It extended even to Brahmans. They figure in the fighting force.[107] Many of the Sēnāpatis of the army were of Brahmin extraction and when they had become famous came to bear the title Brahmādhirāja.[108] The Brahman generals named Revādāsa Dīkshita and Visōttara Dīkshita, who were *sōmayājins* are mentioned and their achievements which brought them glory are described in an inscription of the time of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Gōvinda IV.[109] Persons born and bred in the Vēḷams seem to have formed a normal recruiting army.[110] The famous Sēnāpati of the Eastern Cāḷukya king Vīra Cōḍa, Mēḍamārya, was a Brahmana Vaiṣṇava by caste and he was raised to the dignity of commander-in-chief by the king himself, who fastened the *tiara* on his head. Ceylon was not the only kingdom which recruited military men from different places. The rulers of Bengal used to recruit soldiers from Lāṭa and Karṇāṭa.[111] Training was regular and

105. Ibid. I. p. 246 & S. I. I. III. 69.
106. Cōḷas. Vol. II. Pt. I. p. 225.
107. This inscription is of the time of Krishṇa III, and it immortalises the memory of a certain Gaṇaramma, Brahmin by caste, who gave his life in defending his village. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 334. No. 119 of 1912 dated in the 30th year of Kulōttuṅga I, mentions a gift by Mūvāmudalā Jñanamūrti Paṇḍitaṉ *alias* Madhurāntaka Brahmādhirājaṉ of Vatsa gōtra, a native of Nālur and the commander of the forces. (Sēnāpati) of Cakravarti Kulōttuṅga Cōladēva.
108. See note 7 above and note 9 below.
109. Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII, p. 189.
110. Coḷas Vol. II. Pt. I. 225. Cf. 67 of 1890; 353 of 1904 364; of 06.
111. Bhagalpur plates. Ind. Ant. Vol. XV. p. 305. Soldiers from maghadha were also recruited in ancient times. A separate quarter called Tamilachcheri for the Tamil soldiers, in the kingdom of the North is mentioned in Perungadai. III. 4. line 11.

well-maintained.[112] It is clear from the designations of ministers mentioned in the inscriptions *e.g.* Mahāpracaṇḍa Daṇḍanāyaka, Sarvādhikāri, Sandivigraha etc. that the duties of ministers were not always differentiated and that the recruitment to such responsible posts was from men who were skilled both in the art of warfare and in statesmanship. The governors of provinces such as Sarvādhikāri, Sēnādhipati Hiriya Heddavāḷa, Mahāpracaṇḍadaṇḍanāyaka etc. were often made responsible for the collection of taxes and for the administration of justice. During the Hoysaḷa regime the governors became military officers enjoined with the duty of preservation of peace and order and the protection of the frontiers and the maintenance of troops under them (*Paḍaivīḍu*). The army consisted among others of two special kinds of forces *viz.* the hereditary forces and the forces of the feudatories. *Maulabala*[113] denoted the former, in the epigraphs, and they seem to have been the best and most relied of all armies. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Amōghavarṣa I praises the capture of Kedal, a fort, by Baṅkēya, the leader or viceroy of Banavāsi, as it was garrisoned by hereditary forces, *Maulabala.*

The Arthaśāstra of Kautilya refers[114] to the villages, the lands of which were exempted from the payment of taxes *Ayudhīyaparihāra* on the condition that it would supply a specified number of soldiers to the army. The following extract[115] from an inscription is of interest.

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112. A cavalry instructor (Turagavaṇḍaga) is referred to in a Ratta inscription. [Ep. Ind. Vol. XIII. p. 187.] Ambulance corps are mentioned in Kalhaṇa's Rājatarangini The dependents of the soldiers who lost their lives in war, were paid pensions by the government, and a good instance is furnished in a Bāṇa epigraph. See. Ind. Ant. Vol. XII. p. 39. Lands made tax-free were given by chiefs or kings as உதிரப்பட்டி (*udirappaṭṭi*) to the dependents of those that shed their blood in the battlefield. No. 47 of 1928-9; Nos. 406/25, 49/34-5, 172/35-6 and 232/36-7.

113. Coḷas: *Op. Cit.* p. 225. Maula is hereditary, Bhrtaka is mercenary. Srēṇi is militia and Aṭavi is tribal.

114. II. 34.

115. S.I.I. Vol. II. pt. I. p. 115. No. 22.

Line 10 uḷḷiṭṭa aṉaittāyavarkkaṅgaḷum pañjupīli sandhivikkiragappēru ilāñchaṉaippēru vāsalviniyōgam *paḍai ilār muṟaimai* kūṟṟilakkai kaḍaikkūṟṟilakkai taṇḍavi-

Line 11 lakkai viḍaippēr maḍappaḍi araikkālvāśi ūśivāśi vilaittaṇḍam nīrāṇi kāvērikkugai tēvai kuḍimai nāṭṭupādi *āṉaikkūṭṭam kudiraippandi* uḷḷiṭṭa aṉaittavarkkaṅgaḷum uṭpaḍa.

The above extract gives a long list of the many taxes that were raised from villages and towns and among these, three are of interest for our present enquiry. They are *Paḍai-ilār-muṟaimai*, *Āṉaikkūṭṭam*, and *Kudiraippandi*. Of these the last two were certainly taxes on elephants and horses owned by private individuals. The significance of the first '*paḍai-ilār-muṟaimai*' has not yet been made out. Looking at the name, it appears that it must have been a tax raised for the purpose of the maintenance of the army from the people but it cannot be discerned whether it was collected periodically or as occasions arose. From the mention of it along with many others which are usually levied on the people, it is inferable that it was a tax imposed on the subjects generally. Only when more references are available, the exact significance of this tax and the conditions under which it was realised, might become clear.

Just as the divisions, Nāḍus, Ūrs and Brahmadēyas in ancient days had their own heads or chiefs, who were called *Brahmadēyakkiḷavaṉ*,[116] *Ūrkkiḷavaṉ*[117] etc. so also the quarter of the army *i.e.* *Sēṉaichchēri* had a head or chief and he was likewise called *Sēṉaikkiḷavaṉ*.[118] His other names were Sēnāpati and Sēnaivēndaṉ. It was but natural that the Sēnāpati or the head of the army, was also the chief of the military quarter or *Śēri*. The place where the

116. Nos. 623, 692 of S.I.I. Vol. VIII.

117. No. 396 of 1903.

118. We may favourably compare with Sēṉaikkiḷavaṉ of the Tamil literature the name *paḍaināyagañcheyvār* occurring in inscriptions. No. 118 of S.I.I. Vol. VII. Sēṉaikkiḷavaṉ: Peruṅg. II. 1. line 80. His other names were Sēnāpati, Sēṉaittalaipperuntiruvaṉ, Sēṉaittalaipperuṅkiḷavaṉ. Ibid. I. 37. line 262.

Sēṉaikkiḷavaṉ lived in the Sēṉaichchēri was a little removed from the centre of the kingdom.[119]

The Sēṉaichchēri had a department which looked after the needs and wants of the army. It was the commissariat department and was called Sēṉaivāṇigam.[120] This department had a head who was known as Sēṉaivāṇigaṉ.[121] The department had another name Paḍaikkūḻ.[122] This name came to be applied to it on account of its prime function, the supply of *kūḻ* (food) to the *paḍai* (army). From inscriptional references we learn that there were such departments, that they were looked upon as one among the merchant bodies like Kōvilaṅgāḍiyār, Sāliyar, Kaikkōḷar etc. and that their commercial quarters were called *Sēṉaiyaṅgāḍi*[123] and *Koṅgavāḷa-aṅgāḍi.*[124] This commissariat department, Sēṉaivāṇigam, performed the most important function of providing and securing the most nourishing varieties of food required[125] for the great army of horses, elephants, men and others. Inscriptional and literary references do amply prove the popular existence of this commissariat department. It is interesting to find that a number of merchants were engaged by this department for attending to the needs of the army even when it was on a march.[126] An inscription records a gift of Narasingaraiyaṉ, a merchant from Mālkhēd, who had accompanied the Raṭṭa King Kṛṣṇa III during the southern campaigns of that king.[127]

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119. Peruṅg. I. 38. lines 92-3 ; II. 2. line 57. See also Tiruṅḷaiyūḍaṟ-purāṇam S. 43. V. 46.
120. Ibid. III. 26. line 96f ; also 298 of 1910.
121. Ibid I. 40. lines 343-4.
122. Ibid III. 24. lines 35-36.
123. Nos. 491/26, 59, 62/31-2 & 298 of 1910. See for the text of the relevant passage in Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 146. n. 4. It is interesting to find from No. 491 of 1926, that representations of Sēṉaiyaṅgāḍi were present also in the temple precincts. A.R. 1926-7. p. 113. See also No. 62 of 1931-2.
124. Military commanders were also called Koṅgāḷvārs.
125. Peruṅg. III. 26. line 96 : நாளுடோறும்
ஊனிடையறுமை யுளுத்தந்திடூஉம்
சேனைவாணிகம்
126. No. 177 of 1912.
127. Ibid.

Among those who were connected with Sēṉai and who worked for the army were Sēṉaivāṇigam, and Sēṉaikkaṇimagaṉ, and Sēṉaivaḷḷuva-mudu magaṉ. Of these the first we have noted above. The second was also an important one. The body of Sēṉaikkaṇimagaṉ [128] was known as Sēṉaipperuṅgaṇi,[129] Sēṉaikkaṇimakkaḷ Peruṅgaṇikkuḷu, [130] Peruṅgaṇichchaṅgam, [131] Pēriyaḷālār [132] etc. This body was not a motley crowd or stray gathering of individuals, without any formulated principles, procedures and set rules of conduct. It was an assembly which must have been got up by order and was one well constituted. The members of this body were masters in Astrology, Astronomy, the sciences of Economics, and the laws of Dharma and Nīti. [133] These Peruṅgaṇis used to open great functions by the recital of sacred songs on all days of royal importance. They often stood beside the king. Along with other learned men of the kingdom, they divided up the country into divisions. [134] These great men gave decisions on matters of importance like the engagement of a war, the invasion of a foreign territory, the entrance of the army into the battlefield and such others that concerned the army. They gave out diplomatic devices, and the auspicious days fit for great

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128. Peruṅg. III. 27. line 96.
129. Ibid. III. 22. line 184,
130. Ibid. V. 6. 1. 84.
131. Ibid. II. 4. line 36.
132. Ibid. II. 3. line 5.
133. Ibid. II. 2. line 10f.

எண்டரும் பெருங்கலையொண்டுறைபோகிக்
கண்ணகன் புணற்ப்பிற்கவின்பெற நந்தி
விண்ணகும் விளங்குமேதகு நாட்டத்த
நாற்பொருளுணர்ந்து பாற்பொருள் பன்னி
நூற்பொருணுனித்துத்தீப்பொருளொரீஇ
அலகை வேந்தற்குலகங்கொண்ட
ஒழுக்கநுனித்த வழுக்காமரபிற்
புணர்ப்பியல் காட்சியன் புரையோர் புகழ
V. 6. line 84 அரும்பொறி நெறியினுற்றவமைந்த
பெருங்கணிக்குழுவுக்கு

II. 4. line 36 etc.

134. Silappadigāram : 28. line 222.

undertakings. They were well trained in all such functions and were masters in astrology. They programmed all the great festive days and days of royal marriages etc. and on account of this special kind of work, they had also the name Kaḍigaikkaṇaṉ.[135] The head of this group was called Sēṉaikkaṇimagaṉ[136] who was a recipient of rare honours, like having an umbrella, elephant, seat, going with sandals, the army salute of rising when they come, and such others indicative of his rank and learning.[137] They received from the king as gifts lands tax-free, which yielded vast incomes.[138]

There was yet another servant who was called Sēṉaivalluva-mudumagaṉ, who was also called Vaḷḷuvaṉ and Mudumagaṉ.[139] When the great men who constituted the body of Peruṅgaṇich-chaṅgam, had programmed the great days of the year and had pronounced them, this Vaḷḷuvaṉ was informed and was asked to broadcast the news by beat of drums (*muṟaśu*). Having decorated himself with fitting pomp he would set out on his elephant and placing the drum (*muṟaśu*)[140] in the Perumpaṇaikkoṭṭil and worshipping it, and after informing the king's court, he would go round the city and proclaim by beat of drums the news, and entreat the subjects to be present and be happy on the occasions.[141]

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135. Jīvak. 2411 ; 2367. They are perhaps alluded to by the term *ubhaya-gaṇattār* in No. 135 of S.I.I. Vol. IV. This record narrates the selection of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, as king.

நிழற்பெருங்குடையு நேராசனமும்
செருப்பொடு புகுதலுஞ் சேனையெழுச்சியும்
யானையுந் தானையு மேனைய பிறவும்

136. Peruṅg. IV. 9. line 4.

137. Ibid. II. 2. line 78f.

138. Jīvak. 2373. See also S.I.I. Vol. II. p. 277. line 16f.
Tunaiyaṉ Ādittaṉ *alias* Sembiyaṉ Koṟṟapperuṅgaṇikku-ppaṅgu iraṇḍu Parāntakaṉ Pāṇḍiyakulāśani *alias* Rājarājagaṇitādirājaṉukkuppaṅgu iraṇḍum.

139. Peruṅg. II. 2. line 34.

140. The drum (*muṟaśu*) was also beaten when the army moved. Peruṅg. p. 348 ; IV. 13. line 227 ; Maṇi. 9. line 25 ; Poruṉar. line 49.

141. Jīvak. 2374-5-6. and 2388. Peruṅg. I. 38. line 101.

We shall now pass on to consider the additional information that can be gleaned from epigraphs. The Sēṉaichchēri in which the Sēnai (army) resided, had a *Sabhā* or constituted assembly. Manu, the great law-giver in his code of laws, postulates that there must be a separate quarter for the army, which as we have seen was called Sēṉaichchēri in Tamil literature, and that there should be a Sabhā or Saṅgha for the same representing the militia or the army.[142] The following small extract,[143] taken at random, would show to what extent instructions laid down in the Dharmaśāstras had been faithfully brought into practice.

Line 34 Adhyakṣa-varggam=akhilam Karaṇais = samētam Sēnāpatiñca saha Sainika-sangha—

Line 35 mukhyaiḥ, etc.

= [All the heads (*adhyakṣa*) of departments along with the clerks (*Karaṇam*), the commander-in-chief (*Sēnāpati*) along with the heads of military associations (*sainika sangha-mukhyaiḥ*) . . . etc.] That there were associations and bodies necessary for the maintenance of the army and the representation of its quarter is clear not only from the laws of Manu and the above extract, but also from their activities and sphere of work which are amply illustrated by many an epigraph. Some of these are discussed below. Illustrations of their work and actions will be found in the following abstracts of the contents of some of the important records.[144]

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142. Manusmṛti (Nirṇayasāgara Edn.) Ch. IX. v. 234 ff. p. 385 f. The excellent gloss of Kullūka-Bhaṭṭa and the expressions like:—sabhā-grāma-nagarādau niyataṁ jana-samūha-sthānam; jana-samūha-sthanāni..., ēvam-prakārān-dēsān-śainyaiḥ; padātisamūhaiḥ; tē pūrva-chaurās-chara-bhūta .... tēshāṁ chaurāṇām rājñō daṇḍabhāraka puruṣāḥ samāgasam kuryugrārhayēyusca etc. used by him are clear and conclusive.

143. Ep. Ind. Vol. XXII. p. 156.

144. It is worthy to note that paḏaittalaivaṉ occurs in epigraphs in the sense of shepherds and they ought not to be confused with the references, to the commanders of the army. See Nos. 451, 452 and 454 of S. I. I. Vol. V. Secondly, the meaning of the terms *Samaiyasēṉa* and *Nagarasēṉa* which occur in Tamil inscriptions are however not clear. See Nos. 425 and 433 of S. I. I. V.

I

S.I.I. Vol. V. No. 418.[145] Fourth year of the reign of King Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanachakravartin Śrī Vīra Pāṇḍyadēva.

'*We, the Kaikōṭ Sēnāpatigaḷ, drew up the sale deed in this wise*, and gave it to the Ādicaṇḍēśvaradēva attached to the temple of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēliyuḍaiyanāyanār. Kūttaṉ Nambirāṭṭi *alias* Maṇañjeyda-perumāḷ Talaikkōli having purchased *from us*, gave the following land, for the Jīvana of Nambiyārūrar, *alias* Irākkadapperumāḷ and Nambiyārūrar, persons of the Iḍaikkaṭṭu-maḍam, '. . . . . . for the service of offering flowers for the Tirumuḍisūṭṭu of Uḍaiyār Tirunelvēliyuḍaiyanāyanār'. A certain land called Pāṭṭaṉmaḍai was the Jīvitam. Its boundaries specified. For the jīvita of the above said persons, for the specified services, for this one *mā* of land, '*We, the Kaikkōṭ Sēnāpatigaḷ, agreeing among ourselves and receiving the sale amount from the aforesaid persons, drew up the sale-deed and handed over* (possession) to Ādicaṇḍēśvaradēva. *For the lands thus sold, kaḍamai etc. and other taxes under Śilvari shall be paid.* For the land sold in the above manner, *this shall be the sale-deed and this shall (also) be the document evidencing the receipt of the money.* Besides this, no other deed evidencing the payment in full of the money for the sale shall be demanded or seen. Agreeing thus, having sold it (inclusive of *kāṟāṇmai*) completely and obtained the entire price, we executed the sale-deed . . . . Agreeing in this manner, we, the Kaikkōṭ Sēnāpatigaḷ, of Tirunelvēli, drew up the sale-deed (and handed it) to Ādicaṇḍēśvaradēva'. Signature of a number of members who are entitled *aṟaiyar*.

II

S.I.I. Vol. V. No. 603.[146] Eighteenth year of the reign of King Rājakēsarivarmaṉ Rājarāja.

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145. Nelliyappa temple at Tinnevelly.

146. Ghritasthānēśvara temple at Tillaisthāṉam, Tanjore District.

'We, the Padipādamūlattār, Pañcācāryas, Śrīkōyiludaiyār, and Dēvakaṉmis of Tiruneyttāṉam, a dēvadāṉa of Poygai-nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu, attached to the feet of the God in the temple, sold the land tax-free in order that Vaḻakkētuṉai Guṇasīlaṉ, who was the lord of Muḷḷikkuṟumbu, in Vaṇṇakkarai, of this Ūr, may make his desired Dharma. *(This is) our land transaction and agreement.*' Boundaries specified. In all, the extent of land sold was ½ *Vēli* and 3 *mā*. '*Having obtained on hand the entire sale-amount agreed upon among ourselves, we, the Padipāda*' etc. '*sold this land ½ Vēli and 3 mā in extent inclusive of excess and deficiency (in measurement), as tax-free*, as long as the Sun and Moon endure. Receiving this ½ *vēli* and 3 *mā* of land. . . . . . [147] *We received 3 Kāśu* for the purpose of feeding with dishes (specified), the members of the Śrīkōyil, in the temple of this Ūr, as long as the Sun and Moon last. Details of the dishes and the allowances for each item are specified. We the body *Sēnai*, of this Ūr, having agreed to conduct this gift every month, as long as the Sun and Moon endure, received for the (same) 2 *kaḻañju* of gold. 'With this 2 kaḻañju, *we the body of Sēnai (began to) conduct (this endowment) and shall not show, iṟai, echchōṟu etc. and all others, on* this ½ (*vēli*) and 3 *mā* of land. We, the Padipāda' etc. had this deed engraved on stone.

III

A.R. on S. I. Ep. for 1933. No. 232-33[148] Ninth year of King Māṟavarmaṉ *alias* Tribhuvanacakravartigaḷ.

'*We sold as Caṇḍēśvaravilai the land, for the worship* of the image of Kuṉṟam-eṟinda Piḷḷaiyār consecrated in the temple (of Peruṅguḷam) by Nāchchi *alias* Śivajñāna-sambandha Talaikkōli, one among the Padiyilārs attached to the feet of the God at Peruṅguḷam *alias* Uttamapāṇḍi-yanallūr in Tiruvaḻudi-vaḷanādu, and the boundaries of the said land are the following.' Boundaries specified

147. The inscription is broken here.
148. Peruṅguḷam.

'*The sale of lands within the specified boundaries,* inclusive of *nañjai* etc. for the worship of Kuṉṟam-erinda Piḷḷaiyār, consecrated in the temple by Śiva-jñaṅasambanda Talaikkōli, *was effected after receiving tax-amount and sale-amount. After having received the sale-amount and the tax-amount, agreed upon among ourselves, we, sold (the same).* Let this be engraved in stone and copper. '*We the Valaṅgai Māsēnai, sold it as caṇḍēśvaravilai' for the specified worship.*[149] Then follow the signatures of the representatives of eight regiments, whose names end with the suffixes *araiyaṉ nāḍāḻvāṉ*, and that of the stone mason of the temple.[105]

(*To be concluded*)

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149. Compare similar signatures in No. 1396 of S.I.I. Vol. IV.

150. In No. 242 of 1933, another inscription from Peruṅguḷam which registers the sale of land to private persons by the *Perumpaḍaiyār*, it is interesting to find that *Paḍaikkaṇakkaṉ* figures as the scribe of the record. Paḍaikkaṇakkaṉ means the *Military accountant.*

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MYTHIC LIFE OF INANIMATE OBJECTS

By Satindra Narayan Roy, M.A., B.L.

In this paper I shall deal with the mythic life of inanimate objects. People believe that some of them come to life under special circumstances. When and how these popular beliefs took their present shape it is a hard job to tell.

Gold and silver coins are supposed to get a life of their own if they are long buried under earth. They come out in the still hours of the night to take the air. They move about a short while and enjoy their movements. Towards dawn they go back to their hiding place. In olden days, people used to keep their coins buried under earth for fear that they might be stolen away. Rich people adjured the coins they buried that should any of their descendants be indigent and in need of money the hoarded coins would come out of their hiding place and offer themselves to him. The coins remained hidden under earth, obtained animation or spirit life and when the proper moment arrived they gave themselves up to the persons to whom they were entrusted to benefit by the owner.

Often a yakṣa or a spirit possessed the hoarded coins. He kept them in his custody and occasionally took them out to the surface of the earth for airing. If by chance some one came up to the coins he was tending, he would give the hint and the coins would run away to their hiding place like startled hares. If anybody happened to steal some of the coins the yakṣa would inflict on him and his family the severest punishment. The yakṣas were a peculiar kind of spirits that were very fond of gold and silver. Hoarded coins buried under earth attracted a yakṣa. So long as he was in possession of the coins, it was very difficult to get at them. Powerful incantations and charms could kill a yakṣa and when he was killed the stored up coins became inert and lifeless and could

be safely dug out of the earth. He could be propitiated also by proper invocations and rituals and made to part with the money. Yakṣas appear in temple architectures in many parts of India.

It is said there was a good device to ensure the transmission of hoarded wealth to an impoverished descendant. A spacious well was sunk and a boy not more than five years old and preferably of black complexion was put into the bottom with the hoarded wealth, and after some secret worship and entrustment a lamp was lighted and the well planked up and covered over with earth. The boy died, and his spirit took charge of the hoarded wealth, guarded it, took it out for occasional airing and in due time made it over to the person for whom it was intended.

Big logs of wood when left in water for a considerable time obtain a spirit life. They are called Jukāt or live timbers. They move about in the beds of rivers and tanks and when they feel hungry which they do occasionally, say once in a year or two, they make prize of men or living animals and dive to the bed, where they live.

Metallic chains when left in water for a considerable time get a sort of spirit life. They then behave like the Jukāts or live timbers. When a chain captures a prey it strangles it by winding round its neck and carries it to the depth of the river where it lives.

Door leaves that have stood at the gate for a long time and moved on their hinges sometimes come to life. Pujas are offered to them with offering of cooked rice and curries. They often leave their place at night and sprawl on a field close by to amuse themselves. But if an enemy or a robber should attempt to enter the house seeing the gate open, they will rush from their place of rest and stand at their place closed and joined together to bar the way.

All cutting instruments and especially Khargas which are used for animal sacrifice before gods and goddesses are supposed to be endowed with life. A figure of an eye is painted on these instruments just where they begin to taper to a point. It is the function of these instruments to cut in such a way that the fingers of the holder are not injured. Khargas or sacrificial knives have

to cut at one stroke the animals to be sacrificed just at the middle of their necks. How can they perform their work unless they have an eye to see to it?

Big laterite stones are seen to grow in size by the accumulation of small particles of stone and sand, so they are supposed to be endowed with life. They punish men and women with whom they are displeased by sending their spirit-shapes to sit on their chests when they are fast asleep at night—a popular explanation of night-mares.

Some boats, like timbers, obtain a life of their own. They then behave in a strange fashion. They release themselves at night from the tying ropes and go on a voluntary cruise in the river and return to their place before dawn. It is dangerous to ply these boats, for they always crave for human victims. They are known to sink at their sweet will to have the passengers as their victims.

The pad cloth of a bullock carrying loads is also supposed to obtain spirit life if the bullock with the load is accidentally drowned in water. It then moves in the water craving for both men and animals as victims.

It is supposed that devotional incantations can make inanimate objects alive. The whole host of Hindu gods and goddesses are believed to obtain spirit life by the power of incantation and devotion. The images that have obtained spirit life are known as Jagrata devatas or wakeful deities and they readily hear the prayer of their devotees. It is said that the mystic powers of a man who sets up an idol have a good deal to do in endowing the idol with spirit life. Some idols become alive by the power of incantations to the extent that red blood actually courses in them under stone or earth. All live idols not only confer boons on their votaries but also punish very severely any insult to their dignity on the slightest transgression from their routine rites and ceremonies.

One of the mystic rites of the Śaktas is a peculiar form of worship and meditation while setting on the dead body of a Candāla or other low caste man in a cremation ground. If the

worship is duly performed the dead body becomes alive at least for a few seconds at the end of the worship.

Nalchāla is a sort of ordeal in which two bamboo poles which have been cut with due rites and ceremonies on an auspicious day are held by two persons at the two ends and ordered by the person who displays them to find out the thief or the stolen articles by uttering the holy names of Rāma, Sīta, Hanuman and other gods and goddesses. Ganges water is poured over the poles and sacred basil leaves are put on them. The poles being endowed with spirit life when duly adjured attempt to separate and thus bulge in the middle. They thus exert pressure on the hands that hold them and direct them by bulging in a particular direction. So the poles move on and on till they reach the thief or the stolen articles and the actual detection is made by seizure. The poles are said to obtain spirit life by the power of incantations, rites and ceremonies.

In Batichāla or cup-moving a metallic cup is placed on a handful of paddy and it moves round by the power incantations and invocation and stops at the place where the culprit is sitting, all the suspects being made to sit round it in a ring.

It is said that inanimate objects like chairs and benches can be made to move by the power of charms and incantations. Witches possess powerful charms and incantations. It is believed that a witch can uproot a tree and make it carry her to a place where she wants to go. She usually returns with the tree before dawn and places it where it stood.

A snake-doctor throws four kouries or shells in four directions with proper incantations to find out the snake that has bitten the man and to bring it to him. One of these kouries finds out the snake and goads it on to the snake-doctor by sitting on its hood. When the snake comes, the doctor compels it to suck out the poison from the body of the man, and revives him from the point of death.

The soul of a granary or store of paddy is seen personified by a spirit girl with unkempt hair and slovenly dress, which suit the straw dust and husk lying about the place. She is a benevolent

being, who does not harm anybody. So long as the store is in a prosperous condition she is occasionally seen there, but if it is depleted, broken up or left uncared for its soul becomes dead and the spirit girl is seen no more. In temple architecture we meet with the figures of Brikṣakanyas (Vrikṣakanyas) or tree girls. They are represented as beautiful damsels with leaves and branches overhead standing in the place of trunks of trees. They are personification of the soul of trees that have grown from small seedlings to gigantic proportions. They are not tree-nymphs that have their own individuality, apart from the trees which they inhabit. Brikṣakanyas have no locomotion and cannot leave the trees into which they have been incorporated. It is said that women and girls become Brikṣakanyas for sins committed in their past incarnation and they feel pain when a twig or a branch is broken but cannot get away from the trees they inhabit.

Ancient tanks that have become sacred by association get their inner souls personified by female beings who live perpetually inside the water and are seldom seen drying their locks in the sun, clothed in gay saries and apparelled in rich ornaments. They are benevolent beings. They help poor boys and girls by giving them valuable suggestions regarding their career in dream. They sometimes suggest some infallible remedies to them in dream which they can use with profit. Some spirit-personifications of tanks supply utensils to persons who require them on their asking for the same by putting each an areca-nut into water, the evening before the day of feasting. After feast the utensils are washed and returned to the tank.

It is difficult to trace the underlying principles behind these popular beliefs. It is also impossible to resolve them into general principles. Readers must have seen a child beating a stone on which he or she has stumbled. To the child as also to men in the early stages of development everything was animate. A thing that moves in water or on hinges is obviously alive. All animate beings require food for their growth. Flesh was the common food of men in primitive days. So inanimate things that were supposed to obtain life and animation preyed on men and animals. Man in the early stages of his growth saw spirit everywhere. There were

spirits in rivers, tanks, wells, trees and stones. They were more cruel than kind. Pantheism and mysticism are inherent in Hindu religion and they account for some of the beliefs which I have noticed. Symbolism had a very wide scope in the life of primitive men. The granary was symbolised by an unkempt slovenly maiden and the shining tank by a neat and well-dressed woman.

Civilised men may look upon these popular beliefs which are the remnants of thousand other beliefs of a similar nature as superstition and of no avail in the life of modern men. But they were real enough to our ancestors the primitive men who are swayed by them as much as we are swayed by scientific discoveries.

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STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS. NEW SERIES. No. VI

On an Ancient Indian Apologue about the Birds who lost their liberty by quarrelling among themselves.

BY THE LATE SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

THE Pancatantra, which is a well-known collection of ancient Indian didactic folk-tales and which was composed for the instruction of princes in good morals, contains an apologue entitled "The Fowler and the Birds", the main incidents of which may be summarised as follows:—

Once upon a time, a fowler spread his net upon the ground for the purpose of catching birds therein. It so happened that two birds were snared in it. They struggled hard to free themselves from the net. But their efforts were unavailing. Ultimately they agreed between themselves to unite their efforts and thus to unloose the fastening of the net and then to fly away with it into the sky. This they did. But, while flying through the air, they began to dispute with each other as to which of them should take possession of the net. After much argumentation, they were unable to come to a decision; and so they began a tug of war, one pulling it the one way; and the other the other. After a good deal of struggle they became so exhausted that they ultimately fell down to the earth below with the net. The fowler then captured the two birds and regained possession of his net.

From a study of the foregoing apologue, we find that:—

(*a*) The fowler or bird-catcher was an important member of the village community of the ancient Āryans.

(*b*) The fowlers could make nets of the sinews of animals and fixed them in the ground for the purpose of snaring birds thereby.

(*c*) They used to obtain their livelihood by selling the birds which had been snared by them.

(*d*) These birds were, most likely, game-birds, the flesh of which was very likely partaken of by the ancient Āryans.

(*e*) This apologue teaches us the grand moral lesson that, when we engage ourselves in some undertaking, we should patiently plod in it until we attain our desired object; and we must not lose heart in it because of some temporary trouble that may happen in the meantime.

(*f*) It further inculcates that the majority of our troubles and difficulties is caused by disagreement among ourselves; and that this disagreement arises when we behave like selfish and mean-minded persons who, having amassed wealth, become still more avaricious and refrain from performing their duties to their fellow-men.

(*g*) Those men, who quarrel among themselves for the purpose of appropriating each others belongings, usually find that they have, in the long run, contributed to increase the prosperity of their enemies.

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REVIEWS

Studies in Philosophy—By M. A. Venkata Rao, Assistant Professor of Philosophy, Maharani's College, Bangalore. Price Rs. 5/- or 7*sh*. 6*d*.

STUDIES in Philosophy is a collected edition of some of the essays contributed to learned journals and the sessions of the Indian Philosophical Congress from 1928 to 1939. Philosopher is a spectator who looks somewhat quizzically upon the heretofore and the hereafter, taking life to be more or less unreal and existing, may be, elsewhere. Not that he is an impractical man of affairs but he finds solace and comfort in contemplation. Possessing an equable temper, he meets bravely the buffets of misfortune or the crowning period of glory. To him there is nothing stronger or more powerful than reason, logic or ethic in human experience or human endeavour. The chapter of accidents is *non est*. The land-marks of humanity on the measuring rod of time in this vast and spacious universe, cultural deposits and racial affinities and the complex differentiation in the species appear to be an unsolvable riddle of the universe, drawing out the utmost problems of life and destiny. For he longs to get away from the shackles of this cribbed and confined physical existence and obtain deliverance, to follow the problem to its logical conclusion. That is to say, he would like to see the seed sown emerge a plant, become a big tree and blossom forth yielding flowers and fruits which would give the seed again. Life from the womb to the tomb and back again, the eternal problem of life, is his. He hence wants to sublimate reason by an analysis of cause and effect to God's work and the eternal verities. Mr. Venkata Rao, however, remains very much a man of the world and a student of world-affairs and has attempted in this brochure a method of analysis for discussing the various philosophical problems dealt with in the work.

'Time and Eternity' (1928) offers a new theory of eternity as the fourth dimension of time. Envisaging Reality as Eternal energy taking form, it conceives of time as the form taken by the process of manifestation. This theory is integrated to a form of concrete Idealism, and is enforced through a critical survey of the contrasted theories of Bergson and of Bertrand Russell, and is affiliated to an original philosophical interpretation of the Einsteinian Theory of Relativity. It is a specimen of how a virile Idealism can meet realism and scientific naturalism on their own ground and maintain its own larger point of view through an immanent criticism. The subject is very difficult and abstruse even like the fourth dimension of space or the avasthapañçaka of the Vedāntin who sees God in everything and in himself and is lost in meditation.

The lectures on Niṣkāma Karma expound the fundamentals of Hindu ethics and social philosophy unbiassed by orthodox opinions or Vedāntic or metaphysical disputations, and present in outline a future social order preserving the essentials of Varnāśrama Dharma and dropping their questionable accretions, and formulating a new and dynamic philosophy of human culture and social progress. It also includes a reinterpretation of the order of Sanyasis for realising "Utopia" or piloting social change in tune with modern requirements. The notion of difference is a research essay based on the extensive Dvaita literature so far not available in English, and an endeavour to meet the criticism of the experience of difference urged by Advaitic thinkers. The insight and the labour represented by this essay can only be realised by those who have attempted to deal with the mass of the original sources, and whether it is possible or not to agree with the views held by the author, credit must go to him for the thoroughness of the work. Then, there are a number of essays on Karma, discussing varied aspects of the idea in the context of criticism by Kant, Pringle-Pattison, Taylor, McTaggart and Hogg outlining the elements of permanent value in the hypothesis, after passing it through the crucible of philosophic criticism.

Avasthātraya is a specimen of Upaniṣadic interpretation.

The mysticism of the Māndukya Upaniṣad is interpreted in the light of the most exacting of modern standards. The two traditional lines of interpretation, Advaitic and Dvaitic are faithfully sketched, and an original theory of the value of waking, sleep, dream and *turiya* is indicated as furnishing an experience of integral immediacy, lower and higher. The inside of Bradley and Bosanquet is pressed into service without confounding them with things widely different. As I have mentioned elsewhere, I would very much welcome an elaboration of the avasthapañçaka *i.e.* the *turiya* and the *turiyātīta* stages.

Indian Aesthetics and the two appendices constitute a specimen of creative interpretation. The Rasa-Dhvani theory as expounded in Dhvyaloka centuries ago definitely anticipates recent European speculation, with a thoroughness which has received the praise of Western philosophers. The ingredients of æsthetic experience, emotion, æsthetic joy and expression are expounded in terms of Western theories also.

We congratulate the author on finding fresh and liberating meaning in the Upaniṣads and Gīta, as well as the later dialectic of the Vedāntic schools represented by such masterpieces as Vyasarāya's Nyayāmrita and Madhusūdana Sarasvati's Advaita Siddhi. Every generation needs its own philosophy, its own training ground for leadership, its own guides and critics. It is the business of the philosopher to render explicit and recreate the cultural background of the race to suit his own generation. Realisation of the past is necessary for finding our bearings in the present, and discernment of creative trends or lines of growth in the future is possible only through a freshly won attitude to God, nature and the human scene. In the essay on Karmasanyasa and Reason and Revelation, an attempt is made at recovering a speculative basis for creative morality and a Religion not antagonistic to Reason.

S.S.

Continence and its Creative Power—By Svami Jagadisvarananda, Sri Ramakrishna Matt, Karachi. Price Re. 0-4-0.

THIS is a reprint necessitated from the demand made for its publication after its first appearance in the *Vedanta Kesari*, Madras, in the July 1941 issue. Continence should be the law both for the individual and the collective life: and all other aspects of life are no better than day dreams: and that is the idea which is inculcated and intended to be placed before the youth of the country: and there is no doubt that brahmacarya is essential for the student and for the married man as well under various conditions under which life has to go on till it reaches its ultimate destiny. The individual is trained from the experiences of East and West, and from scriptures well-known as not to need collection from mediæval works and has shown how the *ojas* which is the true builder of the person has got to be preserved by chastity and continence against sexuality which is death and lust which leads to hell.

S.S.

Studies in the Puranic Records on Hindu Rites and Customs—By R. C. Hazra, M.A., Ph.D. Published by the Dacca University Bulletin No. XX.

PURĀṆIC literature has a rich store of material for the very interesting study of the Hindu social institutions. The nice distinctions found *inter se* in the various purāṇas on any topic and the perplexing chronology therein as in the epics are, however, difficulties in the way of a student who wishes to trace the origin and development of Hindu rites and customs. In this thesis, which won him the Doctorate of Philosophy from the University of Dacca, Dr. Hazra has found it possible to construct a chronology of the topics dealt with in the purāṇas and also of the different stages of the development of the purāṇic rites and customs during the long interval from 200 to 1000 *A.D. i.e.* between Yājñavalkya and Smṛti-nibhandas.

The table in the fourth chapter of part one makes it clear that the purāṇic dharma rather than purāṇic Hinduism could be the work neither of a single dictator nor of a particular age but was one which underwent revision, reshaping, additions and

omissions from generation to generation in that long stretch of time, closing with purāṇas, hardly earlier than the tenth century. Broadly speaking, the purāṇas between the third and fifth centuries *A.D.* dealt only with the subject-matter of the early smṛti-samhitas, *viz. varnaśrmadharma, ācāra, āhnika, bhaksyābhaksya, nibaha, asauccha, srāddha, dravyasuddhi, prāyaṣcitta, naraka, karma-vipāka* and *yugadharma* but the later ones dating from the sixth century onwards incorporated new topics like consecration of images, sandhya, glorification of holy places, tithis and pujas, not noticed by Manu and Yājñavalkya.

The author examines the factors that determined these variations in the purāṇic dharma and appendices one and two relating to the purāṇic verses are of great help in incidentally determining the sources of the Smṛti materials. The work under review opens a fresh field of research to students interested in the rites and customs of the Hindus.

P. S. L.

The Need for a Buddhist Literature Society

Essence of the Buddha's Teaching—By Nyanatiloka, Maha-Tera.

Kamma—By Bhikku Silacara. Edited by Dr. Cassius Pereira.

Published by the Bauddha Sahitya Sabha, Colombo, Ceylon.

THE Bauddha Sahitya Sabha has for its object the spread of Buddha Dharma both in Ceylon and abroad, not by missionary effort but by publication of Buddhist literature in the form of books and magazine articles. In his inaugural address Rev. Nyanatiloka Maha-Tera suggested the printing of the text of the Pāli Tripitaka, its commentary, and Visuddhimagga, their translation into Simhalese, European and other languages with full explanations. We wish the Sabha every success in their laudable undertaking.

In the *Essence of the Buddha's teaching* Rev. Nyanatiloka says that Buddhism opposes nothing save the feeling of revenge, animosity and resentment and quite properly refutes a number of wide-spread prejudices concerning the teaching of the Buddha. While Buddhism excludes mere external rite and ritual, the extremes of sensual enjoyment and asceticism, dogmatism and

the blind faith, it lays stress on inner culture, inward condition of man. Far from being pessimism what Buddha teaches is the boldest 'optimism' ever proclaimed to the world.

Kamma (*Karma*), an essay by Silacara, treats the subject in a manner at once easy, intelligible and attractive to the reader, and is a mine of useful information on a topic little understood by non-Buddhists.

P. S. L.

The Way of Mindfulness—By Bhikku Soma, with an Introduction by Dr. Cassius A. Pereira.

Physics and Metaphysics—By Bhikku Dhammapala. Second Edition. Copies of the above can be had from Saccanubodha Samiti, Colombo, (Ceylon).

SATIPATTHANA Sutta which occurs in the Majjhima Nikaya of the Tripitaka has always been regarded as of great value to the aspirant, be he a monk or a layman, who is after clarity of mind, for it leads to the realisation of *nibbana*, the supreme bliss. It has a commentary written by Buddhagoṣa himself. Bhikku Soma has given us a faithful translation of this sutta and also extracts from the great commentary, under the title 'The way of Mindfulness'. People interested in this Buddhist work on Yoga will derive profit and pleasure by reading it.

In *Physics and Metaphysics*, the writer aims at showing how the teachings of the Buddha including the Jātaka stories are quite scientific and suited to all times. The very fact that the first edition was exhausted within a week of the publication is an eloquent proof of its popularity. Dhalke's *Buddhism and Science* will be helpful to those who like to read a full treatment of the theme on almost similar lines.

P.S.L.

The Dhammapada—By Narada Thera, with a Foreword from Dr. Cassius A. Pereira. Published by Mrs. M. J. C. Fernando, 'Charlesagar', Moratuwa, Ceylon.

THE text of Dhammapada is in Simhalese script and a correct rendering in English of the Pāli words as passed on from the Lord

to us through the ages is offered by Narada Thera, a renowned Simhalese member of the Holy Order, to meet the complex needs of some person or event. It is one of the best translations of a work that holds high rank in the world of literature.

P.S.L.

Travels of Tibetan Pilgrims in the Swat Valley—By Giuseppe Tucci. Published by The Greater India Society, Calcutta.

OUR interest in the Swat Valley is growing with the recent excavations in and researches made concerning this valley which was once linked by a commercial route with India and Central Asia. With the discovery of the monsoons and the later abandonment of the overland route for commerce, those countries came to be looked upon as a fairy-land, the land of dākinis and the geographical and historical sense of those countries came to be lost in the process of time. The extant Chinese itineraries into the Swat Valley show that Tantric Buddhism was in full swing in that Valley at the time of their visit. According to Buddhagupta the country around Uddiyana (the Tibetan Orgyan or Urgyan) was known by the name of Ghazni; he does not give much information of any historical or geographical value.

During his travels in western Tibet, Tucci obtained two texts, one of itineraries of Orgyan Pa and of sTag ts' añ ras pa between the thirteenth and sixteenth centuries and another fragmentary manuscript at Spiti, containing a biography of Orgyan Pa's guru who visited Jhalandar. These Tibetan accounts of travel throw a flood of light on the importance of the Swat Valley. The route taken by them was from Tibet to Jhalandar, then to India, to the Swat Valley, to the sacred mountain of Illam and then back to Kashmir, through the Hazara district. Jhalandar, Spiti, a centre of Lamaism that inspired Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*, Amritsar whose tank of the Golden Temple is believed to be the lake of Padhmasambhava and Uddiyana now definitely located by the scholars in the Swat Valley are some of the twenty-four centres sacred to Vajrakāya, visited by the Buddhist Pilgrims even as late as the sixteenth century exposing themselves to "the risk of the journey itself and of the unfriendliness of the Muslims." At the time of Orgyan Pa's

visit the central figure of Sakyamuni at Uddiyana was forgotten and the atmosphere was charged with tantric cult with Samvara, Guhyasamaja, Indrabhuti and Kambalapa. And Uddiyana itself came to be associated as the birth-place of many tantras and in particular with the esoteric methods of tantric realisations relating to the cycle of the dākini known as Uddiyanakrama. And when we come to the other pilgrim's time of visit, even the slightest trace of the survival of Buddhism is not noticeable and only ruins are mentioned. Sadhus if any belonged to the sect of Natha-panchiyas.

Tucci's contribution is of inestimable value adding as it does to a better understanding of the history of the Swat Valley's ancient religion when Islam was making its headway in that land of magic and witch-craft. The two Tibetan texts and their translation in English are given in the work.

P.S.L.

Nandapur (A Forsaken Kingdom)—By Kumar Bidyadhan Singh Deo, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S. Advocate, Jeypore. Price Rs. 2-0-0.

THE author, Kumar Bidyadhan Singh Deo, gives an interesting account of Nandapur, the forsaken kingdom, whose relics stand out as a monument pointing out to every passer-by of its past greatness and prosperity under the powerful dynasties who held sway there, the Nandas, the Silas, the Gajapatis and the Sankaras. It was existing even in the Buddhist period as evidenced from the Buddhist remains at Bhattiprolu. This work, however, is concerned with its greatness and its contribution to the mediæval period. The family tradition and usages of the Sankara dynasty are contained in a palm-leaf manuscript in possession of the family of the late Narasinga Santra and that has helped the author in compiling the history. The introduction is written by Professor Seshagiri Rao, and as he says that Ganjam and Vizagapatam regions deserve to be thoroughly explored archæologically to throw light on a dark period of the Āndhra history. The work is illustrated, full of useful information and well got up. We look forward for the second part with interest.

S.S.

Archæology of Gujarat (Including Kathiawar)—By H. D. Sankalia. Published by Messrs. Natwarlal & Co. 361, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay. Price Rs. 15/-

THIS work, originally a thesis for the PH.D. degree in archæology in the University of London, is an attempt to study the pre-historic and historic archæological material of Gujarat and Kathiawar from early historic times to the end of the fourteenth century based upon personal inspection of the most important monuments there. We agree with the author in recommending a systematic and extensive exploration of these parts which are geographically connected with Sindh, the store-house of pre-historic culture in India. A thorough and analytical examination of the Jaina prākrit works would be necessary to complete the study. The illustrations have been taken from various published works and also include many photographs taken by the author. While it is called the Archæology of Gujarat we find here the geography, history, architecture, sculpture, iconography, epigraphy, numismatics and various other items like administration, society, religion and the contribution of Gujarat to Indian culture. The appendices consist of list of inscriptions arranged, genealogical tables, place names, grants and temples with a full bibliography. It is profusely illustrated and well got up and forms an excellent compilation of the history of the times with which it deals and we congratulate the author on his laudable attempt.

S.S.

The Historical Sculptures of the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ Temple, Kāñchī—By the late Dr. C. Minakshi, M.A., Ph.D.—Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India. No. 63. Price Rs. 9-6-0.

KĀÑCHĪ located in the Tunda Viṣaya, is one of the seven holy cities in India and sacred both to Viṣṇu and Śiva. It was first a great Buddhist centre of learning, then the home of the Pallavas and later acquired by the Cōḷas. The University of Kāñchī was well-known like Kāśi and Naḷanda. Śaṁkara appears to have chosen for his revivalistic activities Kāñchī as Ramānuja did later and established one of the eight Matts here, some claim being made even today for the Kamakōti-Piṭha as the original

Matt. Kāñchī is famous for the antiquarian as containing relics of Buddhist, Jaina and Brahminical temples. One of the earliest temples there is that of Kailasanātha and its paintings which some of us had the good fortune to witness more than thirty years ago, were recently brought to light by Mons. Dubreuil. Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple is in the western part of the town in what is called the Viṣṇu Kāñchī or little Kāñchī. The famous Vaiṣṇava Saint, Tirumangai Āḻvār composed several verses in praise of the deity. This temple contains sculptures of remarkable interest reminding us of many a scene in the Pallava naval port of Mahabalipuram. The monograph under review is concerned with the historical sculptures of the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple at Kāñchī by the late lamented Dr. C. Minakshi, an exceptionally brilliant scholar by whose untimely death Indian archæology lost a singularly gifted votary. As Dr. Dikshit says the present memoir shows the extraordinary interest which she evinced and the trouble she took in bringing out the true significance of the pannels on the walls of the temple by her intensive study, and the critical knowledge of history and mythology she brought to bear on her task. This work which was a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of the University of Madras in 1936 and now published as a Memoir of the Archæological Survey of India reveals the true importance of the unique sculptures of Pallava history in the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple. Dr. Minakshi has filled up the gaps left by Mr. Rea in his work on Pallava architecture more than thirty years ago. She utilised the information available from the sculptures and from the inscriptions in the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple as also the material which is available elsewhere in the Pallava inscriptions in different parts of South India. She has reconstructed and satisfactorily accounted for the various interpretations and inferences which she or other scholars have since drawn from the materials before them. A critical acumen, a correct and balanced appreciation of the oftentimes divergent hypotheses and a perfect historical sense charactetised all Dr. Minakshi's work. She was a native of Kāñchī. She gave her life to it. She was devoting all her spare time for the study of what she considered the most important but neglected part of South India where Buddhist influence prevailed to a considerable extent.

A temple of Tara or Bhagavati whose worship she believed was wide-spread all over India, according to her existed one and a half *yojanas* in a south-easterly direction from the present Gangādhareśvara temple in Gavipura, Bangalore City. It is unfortunate her continued ill-health prevented us from tracing it and I have not been able to make any head-way after her unfortunate death.

The work before us gives a complete account of the Pallava genealogy and of Pallava history as might be built from the walls of the Vaikunṭhaperumāḷ temple and to students of Hoysaḷa inscriptions and architecture and Hoysaḷa history it will not be strange to see rows after rows of scenes from mythology and the purāṇas, battles, coronations, durbars of kings etc. portrayed on the walls of temples but these are undoubtedly of a far later date than the sculptures we are studying. It may be that they were related to the Pallavas as the Hoysaḷas were the successors of the Gangas in the Kannada country. The description of the events in the labels below the sculpture are interesting. The picturesque representation of the anarchy and confusion preceding or succeeding certain coronations in different periods of the Pallava history are full of significance and suggestive for the careful student of Pallava history.

S.S.

Excavations in Swat and Explorations in the Oxus Territories of Afghanistan—Memoirs of Archæological Survey of India No. 64. Price Rs. 5-10-0.

An account of the work of a British expedition, a party of four led by Mr. Event Barger, in the summer of 1938 in the Swat Valley and the Oxus territories of Afghanistan is furnished in the Memoir No. 64 of the Archæological Survey of India. It has succeeded in paving the way for further British work on the Indian Frontier and beyond and in reviving interest in Indian and Central Asian Studies in England. The finds of the expedition were placed on special exhibition of the Victoria and Albert Museum in 1939 and the Indian Institute of Oxford and the provincial museums acquired a number of objects.

It has been rightly observed in the foreword to this memoir by Dr. K. N. Dikshit that both the Swat Valley and North Afghanisthan are in several ways intimately connected with India in several epochs of Indian history and that the work done in Barikot, Amluk, Gumbat and Abarchinur regions by the Barger expedition has added to our knowledge. Even from the scrappy undocumented material a student of Gandhara history may trace the history of cultural Asia and the place occupied by the Buddhistic and Hellenistic art from Indian and Iranian frontiers across the Pamirs and the Tarim Basin to China.

Swat, which attracted the Chinese pilgrims and later became Baber's hunting ground for tigers in the fourteenth century had not become dreary and bleak which it is today. A variety of factors like the dislike of the White Huns, the Muhammadans, natural causes, digging by treasure seekers, quarrying for stone have contributed to the destruction of its monasteries from the middle of the fifth century.

Ancient Bactria, the meeting ground of the great highways from China and the Mediterranean, was studded with Buddhist monasteries even fifty years before the Islamic invasions began. Baharak, Tashkurghan and Balkh, were other regions noticed by the Barger expedition. As there is much to be done in this direction. One naturally wishes Professor Barger would return to feel the dust of history under his feet and consumate it before long.

P.S.L.

Administration Report of the Archæological Department 1115 M.E.
Travancore Inscriptions: A Topographical List
Archæology in Travancore
A Short Guide to Padmanabhapuram
Music in Travancore
By R. Vasudeva Paduval, B.A.
Administration Report of the Sri Citralayam 1115 M.E.

IMPORTANCE is naturally given to excavations of pre-historic sites which are made possible by the munificent grants of the Travancore Durbar. At Perikkannal in the high ranges some burials were unearthed which contained domestic vessels, pots, pitchers etc. An epigraphical lexicon based on all available inscriptions

in the State is prepared in the alphabetical order giving the place of the discovery of the inscription, the dynasty to which it belongs, the name of the king to whom it relates, together with the date and language and the character of the inscription with informative remarks to help the student of epigraphy. We would invite the attention of the Mysore Government to the preparation as in Madras and Travancore of a topographical list of inscriptions which would be of immense use to all lovers of the history of Mysore. Some excellent examples of the vital expression of the creative activity in the fourteenth century sculpture are referred to: *e.g.* the wooden sculpture at the Sattankulangara temple. The administration report of the Archæological Department also mentions megalithic monuments some of which are damaged. Several mural paintings have been discovered and have been described. We congratulate the Travancore Durbar on the excellent work which they have done in preserving the sculptures of the eighth century and the images of the ninth century and in declaring many rock-cut and cave temples as protected under the Ancient Monuments Preservation Act.

'Archæology in Travancore' by the distinguished Director of Archæology, Mr. Paduval, is the first of a series of popular hand-books very useful and instructive. Travancore has brought to light many pre-historic monuments, dolmens, urns and cromlechs and Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina and Christian relics of olden times covering a continuous chain of centuries and Travancore possesses a culture essentially Hindu and Sanskritic with the ruling house tracing its descent from the old Cēra Kings who are referred to in the Aśōkan edicts of the third century *B.C.* No foreign power has actually conquered it and even our own Tippu failed in his attempt. The wooden carvings and the gable style of architecture form a distinguished facet of Indian Architecture. To the history of the Pāṇḍyans, especially of the King Jatāvarman Parāntaka, for a genealogy of the Cōḷa kings, for a narrative of the Cēras and others, the one thousand and six hundred inscriptions furnish considerable archæological material. They also throw light on the Dravidian philology and place-names and on ancient political and social institutions. The ancient civic life was preserved as

a powerful social institution by the temples which were great corporations patronised by the ruling house and the nobles of the land. Beside sculptures, stone images and brass images, mural paintings and wood carvings are found in abundance.

The 'Guide to Padmanabhapuram', the ancient Capital of Travancore about thirty-three miles from Trivandrum, set amidst picturesque surroundings with several relics of great historical and archæological importance going back to at least 1335 *A.D.* contains a ground plan of the place and photographs of the palace, mural paintings of Ardhanariśvara, the dance of Naṭarāja, the wooden pillar and the general view of Nilakantasvami temple.

Music finds a home in India generally: much more so in Travancore. The State is the repositary of ancient Indian Music whose traditions have survived to this day. Folk and Pastoral music are all patronised in every house. Kathakali is not recent. It has familiarized us to the glory of Travancore music. Mr. Paduval has rendered great service in drawing pointed attention to these matters in this short and instructive pamphlet.

The administration of the Picture Gallery shows that in the year under review a mural of Gajendramokṣa was copied on a reduced scale from the wall paintings in the Krishnapuram Palace and the famous paintings by Nicholas Roerich and his son Svetoslev Roerich were added to the Gallery.

More yet remains to be done and we have no doubt that the Travancore Government will assist the Department with increasing financial assistance in this noble work.

S.S.

Annual Report of the Archæological Department of His Exalted Highness the Nizam's Dominions—1346 F. (1936-37 A.C.). Copies can be had from the Director of Archæology, H.E.H. the Nizam's Dominions, Hyderabad, Dn.

DURING the year under report excavations were carried out at Maski on a large scale and several new sites were tapped. The potteries found in association with a cist at site G. not only resembled in texture that of the pre-historic graves excavated

by the department at other sites but also bore the marks which are found on it. The cist was made of small pieces of rough stone slabs of uniform size and inside were found two human skeletons in a comparatively good state of preservation. Of these one skull was nearly intact. In site M. the figures of an elephant and a human being with a whip are inscribed upon a terracotta cylindrical seal discovered on the surface and having some resemblance to the Babylonian seals. The seal represents a man driving an elephant. It is a very clear-cut dimension of the elephant. Site L. has again relics of later cultures. In site H. three gold coins of an unpublished variety were found. The finds at Maski consist of implements and pigmy flakes of chert and chalcedony, the later representations of cornelian, lapis luzui, amethyst, crystal, onyx, ruby and garnet. One snake-head of reddish semi-precious stone is found with a small hole at the base suggesting its use as a pendent. The terracottas show great variety and high artistic taste. A gold coin found at Maski has an elephant on one side and a lion on the other side resembling the Kadamba coins in certain respects but really different from them. The three gold coins found here are unpublished so far and they have not been as yet assigned to any dynasty. At Kadkal situated north-west of Lingsugar about three miles, some bronze images representing the Jaina Tirthankaras were discovered. The site yielded pieces of bricks in great abundance suggesting structural remains under ground. The bricks measured 17″ × 10″ × 2.5″ and probably they were used in the construction of a temple ninety feet high. Terracotta slabs bearing uniform circular cavities were discovered and when a trail trench was dug the site exposed furnaces with traces of ashes and broken pieces of terracotta moulds and also coins of an unknown and unpublished variety: apparently, the site was a mint. Some coins have on the obverse a flying *garuda* facing to the right with folded arms while the others have a bull facing left with a legend in the Nagari script apparently ranging between the eleventh and the fourteenth centuries *A.D.* Some pre-historic graves were discovered north of the mint. It appears as if the body was first cremated and afterwards some of the ashes and bones which had escaped calcination were placed in a jar and

burried at a depth of about two feet from the ground level. In Paithan in the Aurangabad district which has a halo of antiquity and romance about it the huge array of the mounds and old ruins that flank the northern bank of the river Godavari attest. this fact. The excavations conducted there throw ample light on the history of the Āndhra kings,—several archæological remains, copper coins, particularly those with the Bodhi tree and the Svastika emblems were discovered, suggesting Āndhra dynasty. Appendix C deals with excavations of Paithan by the Assistant Director of Archæology, Syed Yusuf, being originally a paper submitted to the Ninth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference held at Trivandrum. In Appendices A and B, S. Paramasivan of the Madras Government Museum gives the technique of the painting process in the cave temples at Ajanta and at Elura. They are divided into several sub-headings and we invite the attention of the reader to them. The work is profusely illustrated and we congratulate the Durbar on the excellent material which is contained in this beautiful report.

S. S.

The Travancore Tribes and Castes. Vol. III—By L. A. Krishna Iyer, M.A. Trivandrum.

L. A. Krishna Iyer, in this third volume of the Travancore Tribes and Castes has shown that the civilised man still preserves the savages in his institution in entire ignorance that he is so doing and how notions and customs survive and persist through centuries in spite of extraordinary and marvellous improvements which man attributes to himself. The work is appropriately dedicated to the famous Prime-minister of the State, Sachivottama Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyar. Mr. Krishna Iyer is well-known to the readers of this journal and he has contributed many articles on the tribes which are referred to in this work. The inner life of the jungle reveals itself to the sojourner amongst the animal kingdom and the forests help him for he can stand and survey the ravages incidental to the forest and study the customs and social institutions of the primitive peoples inhabiting those lands. Analysis, careful sifting and personal contact are

necessary for an account of the jungle tribes who lead a simple life to the casual observer, and as it reflects the essentials of all fundamental problems a scientific study of these are necessary. The author with unflagging zeal and lucidity and scholarship which he has inherited from his distinguished father has brought to bear considerable research into his work and his insight into the ethnic individuality of the primitive man of Travancore will be most welcome to all students of Anthropology. We wish there will be some more to take up the study of primitive man as Mr. Krishna Iyer has done. The illustrations are excellent and informative, the charts are carefully prepared with reference to stature, cephalic index and the nasal index. The treatment is highly analytical and readable. The information of altitude and culture and its acceptability or otherwise to modern life bearing on the development of early man and the conditions physical, social and moral have been described. They are drawn from well-known scientific data for which no detailed references are called for. As Risley has remarked Travancore has a large number of exclusive aggregates the members of which are forbidden by the inexorable social law to marry outside the group to which they belong. Whatever may have been the origin of an earlier development of caste, the absolute prohibition of mixed marriages stands forth now as its most essential and prominent characteristic, and the feeling against such unions is deeply ingrained. In a society which put an extravagant value on the pride of blood and the ideas of ceremonial purity, differences of physical type may be expected to manifest a high degree of persistence and this work therefore is of considerable importance. The work was published in October 1940 and we are sure that the anthropological data of 1941 will coincide with the conclusions which Mr. Krishna Iyer has drawn from the data of the Census Report of 1931.

S.S.

Ancient Races and Myths—By Chandra Chakraberty. Published by Messrs. Vijaya Krishna Brothers, 81, Vivekananda Road, Calcutta. Price Re. 1-0-0.

LIKE the other works of the author, this also is arranged in the alphabetical order. It is crammed with information, rather heavy for

reading but intended as a book of reference will be found very useful by students of oriental literature. In a short introduction the author has tried an archæological and anthropological exposition of the various matters concerning the ancient history, ancient civilization and ancient myths of India. It would be difficult in a short review to discuss these matters in detail but from a short glimpse we have had of the work we can say that the author has taken considerable trouble in collecting, sifting and verifying the information available. Astrological features which he refers to require further elucidation. The changes which he says have occurred have got to be reasoned out in greater length and the various sacrifices which took place on particular days when the sun moved on from a particular solar mansion to another have got to be explained so that the unwary might not be misled. The author cannot go into these details in a couple of paragraphs. Then again his discussion of the totem with reference to the Lion or the Fish merits more detailed consideration; and the family relationship being exogamous and marriage being tabu amongst specified relations to prevent incestual connections; and marriage with sister's sons yet being more prevalent, these require a treatise for a satisfactory discussion. We do not know what the Arunts and Trinidad Islanders thought about conception but it looks as if while tabu existed with reference to totem it cannot possibly be that conception had anything to do with feeling at sight on various animals or plants. I am aware of the Hindu legend and superstition that is even today believed in that pregnant women should keep home during the eclipse and that they should avoid the sight of cobras or anything for that matter which would be likely to excite or frighten them but that has nothing whatever to do with conception.

S.S.

Consolidated Catalogue of the Central Archæological Library of the Archæological Survey of India—By D. R. Sharma, M.O.L. New Delhi.

THE consolidated catalogue of the Central Archæological Library contains full and complete information about the books available there and the arrangement leaves nothing to be desired. It might

be permissible to suggest, however, that journals, periodicals and the later publications might be got to complete the library. We are glad to notice that the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* is included at page 37 as No. A. 575.

S.S.

The Indian Ephemeris of Planet's Positions According to the Nirayana or Indian System for 1942 A.D.—By Nirmala Chandra Lahiri, M.A. Published by the Indian Research Institute, Calcutta. Price Re. 0-12-0.

THE Planetary position for 1942 is given in this work which contains notable improvements such as the expansion of the star table, table of nirayana ascendant, and addition of mean elements of planets, table of solar days, tithis and nakṣatras and table of sun-rise and sun-set. The initial point of the nirayana zodiac has been so fixed as to make the longitude of the star Spica 180 degrees. We wish this useful publication the same success which the previous issues had.

S.S.

Kalpaka. Vol. XXXVII No. 1. January-March 1942—A Quarterly Journal edited by T. N. Sanjivi, Tinnevelly. Annual Subscription Rs. 5/- or 12*sh*. or 3 $.

WE very much regret to note that Dr. T. R. Sanjivi, the talented Editor of the Kalpaka, the Director of the Holy Order of Krishna and the President of the Latent Light Culture passed away into Samadhi on the 6th of December 1941 at Tinnevelly. Mr. T. N. Sanjivi, the only son of the late Dr. Sanjivi has now taken up the responsibility of editing this valuable journal. Due to troubles arising from the present international situation and the results thereof Kalpaka is now being issued as a Quarterly and we welcome the first issue of the Quarterly which opens with the message of Dr. Sanjivi which he gave on the 4th December, two days before he entered Samadhi. A short account of Dr. Sanjivi's life from 30-10-1880 to 6-11-1941 follows his message. G. R. Deshapande makes an appeal to the followers and admirers of the Latent Light Culture to fulfil the great desire of Dr. Sanjivi in

establishing a Gita Mandir and a research institute. Dr. Druga-shankar Nagar, Editor of Kalpavriksha gives us a vivid biography of Dr. Sanjivi in his article on the Passing away of a great Yogi. Sarvanothbhava Sarvananda writes on 'Peace' and M. S. Rama-swami Aiyar who is not unknown to our readers discusses whether Śri Krishna was a Tamilian and shows the close contact of the North and South India in ancient times. The presidential address on Indian Philosophy by Prof. P. P. S. Śastri, at the Oriental Conference held at Hyderabad in 1941 precedes a collec-tion of twenty-six sayings arranged alphabetically by Baron Rothschild under the caption 'Ways to Success'. The contribu-tions on Chandogya Upaniṣad and Mental Efficiency make delightful reading. True spiritualism and what constitutes it is explained by U. Carcy, and K. Viswanathan continues his study of Garuda Purāṇa. We are confident that Mr. T. N. Sanjivi, the present editor is eminently fitted to serve the cause for which the journal stands.

R.H.R.

SANSKRIT

The Mahābhārata—Āraṇyakaparvan (1). Fascicule 11. Published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Society, Poona. 4.

THE Āraṇyakaparvan which is often called the Vanaparvan of the Mahābhārata takes us to the end of the death of Jatāsura, based as usual on the several available manuscripts and edited with the thoroughness characteristic of the work. It is to be regretted that both Devabodha's commentary and the Japanese version of this parvan are not available for the preparation of this text; yet this has not affected the edition since there is very little trouble which the editor meets with in constructing the text of the Vanaparvan. There is always the difficulty in reconciling the northern and southern recensions and the editors have done their best in sifting and arranging what they consider, and may we say rightly, the most appropriate and proper text of the Mahābhārata. A long passage concerning Urvasi's temptation of Arjuna and her curse that he became a eunuch has been omitted on the ground that it is a later addition which is not found for instance in the

Kashmirian texts. The highly erotic description of the voluptuous Urvasi with its pronounced sex appeal is totally incompatible with the text, which lacks the feminine interest and eschews all erotic topics as such. Further, in the following parvan Arjuna himself contradicts the story of his temptation and in reality he had nothing of the kind but he was only practising the vow of rigid celebacy by the order of his brother, Yudhisthira. Likewise, another passage, the killing of Naraka by Viṣṇu, and also the rescue of the earth in the boar incarnation of the great God of the Vaiṣṇavas are omitted as being spurious. Still, the authentic text of this fascicule contains the Naḷa episode and the Ṛsyaśriṅga legend. The Naḷa episode has been translated into different European languages and has passed into the stream of great world literature ; and Professor Lüders has done justice to the Ṛsyaśriṅga episode in his masterly monograph on the subject. We echo Dr. Suktankar's appeal that this critical edition of this romantic work will evoke further study.

S. S.

Damarukam—A Sanskrit Farce by Pandita Ghanaśyāma with a Commentary by Candrasekara. Edited by Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subramanya Sastri, B.A. (Oxon.), M.A. (Madras). Published by the Sankaragurukula, Srirangam. Price Re. 0-8-0.

Ratneśvaraprasādana—A Sanskrit drama by Gururama Kavi. Edited by Vidyasagara Vidyavachaspati P. P. Subramanya Sastri. Price Re. 1-2-0.

PROF. P. P. S. SASTRI ascribes the limit and restricted knowledge of Sanskrit composition dealing with inventive faculty of Sanskrit dramas to our ignorance of the language and our unfamiliarity with its literature and he says that we are not entitled to pronounce any off-hand judgment unless we have explored the various manuscript collections available in the several sanskrit libraries in India. The work, Damarukam is based on a manuscript available in the Government Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras, and for the commentary the editors are indebted to the Tanjore Palace Library manuscripts. This is a dramatic work dealing with social manners in ten alamkaras. The author was a talented writer of repute and was fortunate in possessing two wives, Kamala and

Sundari, who were equally gifted writers in Sanskrit, a rare combination which made up for the lapse from monogamy. The text proper has many a reference to Sundari and strangely enough, none at all to Kamala.

Even after the decay of the Karnāṭac empire in the sixteenth century and during the period of turmoil in Northern India under foreign rule the study of Sanskrit and the importance given to Sanskrit literature survived in spite of the onslaughts made on them. That shows that the social conditions were left unaffected by dynastic conquests and military campaigns. This Sanskrit drama, Ratneśvaraprasādana, was composed under the patronage of Hindu chieftains in the seventeenth century. The work under review was the finest of his works marked by an easy flow of language clear-cut delineation of character, delightful imitation of words reminding us oftentimes of Kaḷidāsa and Bhavabhūti. If the author, Gururama Kavi or Rama Kavi should be found to be an imitator he was an imitator who successfully imitated the best compositions of the great dramatists of Sanskrit literature and that would not detract from the merit of his work.

S. S.

KANNADA

ವಿಶ್ವವಿಸರಣ (**Broadcasting**)—By G. S. Paramasiviah, M.Sc., A.I.R.E Professor of Physics, Lingaraj College, Belgaum. Sir K. P. Puttanna Chetty Puduvattena Prakatana Male. Published by the University of Mysore. Price As. 2/-

BROADCASTING, a marvel of the scientific inventions of the age has proved a powerful instrument in the life of man both in peace and war. Though the masses are daily listening to broadcasting a very small section knows what it is. Besides, there are few books in Kannada to help us to understand the subject.

The book under review is properly published by the University of Mysore in the series of hand-books in Kannada on Modern Scientific subjects. In about sixty pages divided into ten chapters the author has dealt with a wide range of the subject in a concise manner without burdening the layman with its technical details.

The narrative is simple. A number of instructive diagrams has enhanced the value of the book. The book is particularly welcome at a time when there is a growing interest in broadcasting.

D.S.A.

TAMIL

Tholkāppiyam Soḻadikāram Nachchinārkkiniyam (தொல்காப்பியம் சொல்லதிகாரம் நச்சினார்க்கினியம்)—Edited by Vidwan M. V. Venugopal Pillai. Published as Bhavanandar Kazagam, Madras. No. 2. Price Rs. 3-0-0.

DUE to the munificence of the late Dewan Bahadur C. Bhavanandam Pillai of Madras, whose life sketch and photo is given in the work under review, the Bhavanandar Kazagam, is founded for the purposes of publishing ancient tamil works. The Great Śaiva Nachchinarkkiniyar of Madura of the Pāṇḍyan kingdom was later than Ilampoornar and Senavariyar who also wrote commentories like him on Tolkāppiyam. His versatality in Tamil and Sanskrit as is evident from his other great commentaries gave him the highest rank among the commentators of this well-known Tamil Grammar.

In 1892 C. V. Damodaram Pillai edited this work but unfortunately he did not separate the text from the commentary with the rich array of illustrations which the commentator himself has given. Further it contained some mistakes which that editor could not have detected due to the difficulty in his day of getting material enough for collating. The present edition is a decided improvement on Damodaram's on these lines. Its excellent get-up gives ample credit to the second publication of the above academy founded by that great lover of Tamil literature.

P.S.L.

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NOTES

BAICHEYA DAṆṆĀYAKA

By H. Sreenivas Jois

In the Channakeśva temple at Belur a record[1] dated 1414 *A.D.* relates that Harihara Dharanīpāla gave Baiche Daṇṇāyaka the rank of minister with honours and that later King Harihara's younger brother King Bukkarāya entrusted him with equally responsible duties. This is confirmed in a later inscription[2] dated 1431 *A.D.* in the Rameśvara Temple at Kūdli which says:—

Formerly, under Bukkarāya was the great minister Baichapa Daṇṇāyaka (his praises given) whose son was Mangappa Danḍādipa, his son, famous as the king of Mahishmati was Baichapa Daṇṇāyaka, whose son was Rāyaṇṇa Rāya, the great minister of Devarāya, placed over the Araga Kingdom in 1431 *A.D.*

From the above two inscriptions the genealogy of these Daṇṇāyakas stand thus.

Baiche Daṇṇāyaka
|
Mangappa Danḍādipa
|
Baichapa Daṇṇāyaka
|
Rāyaṇṇa Rāya (1431 *A.D.*)

Who is this Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka who served under Harihara Dharanīpala and Bukkarāya, the founders of the Vijayanagar Dynasty? Dr. Saletore[3] says that this Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka was the senior house minister (ಹಿರಿಯ ಮನೆಯ ಪ್ರಧಾನ) of Ballaḷa Deva III whose name is mentioned in a Veeragal dated Śaka varuṣada 1240 Kāḷayukti Samvatsarada Puṣya śuddha 10 Sōmavara (*A.D.* 1319

1. E.C.V. Bl. 14.
2. E.C. VII Sh. 71.
3. V.S.C. Volume at page 154.

January the 2nd Tuesday, the weekday not corresponding) and found in the Pañçalingeśvara temple at Hanagavadi, Honnali Taluk.[4] In *A.D.* 1328 he is called Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka Chamupa under the same monarch.[5]

Clearly there was one Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka under each of the above monarchs—the Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III and Bukkarāya I of Vijayanagara and it is not apparent how Dr. Saletore concludes that Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka who served Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III was the same Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka who served the founders of the Vijayanagara Empire.

There is another minister by name Baichappa who was a contemporary of these two monarchs Ballāḷa III and Bukkarāya I. Baichappa Mantri was the senior minister of King Kampila of Hosamale and Kummatadurga.[6] Among the chiefs and princes that took part in the Sula festival celebrated by King Kampila were Bhandarada Harihara and Bhandarada Bukkanna.[7] Dr. M. H. Krishna says that "These probably founded the Vijayanagara Empire later on".[8] After the battle of Bishlahalli, which took place between Ballāḷa III and King Kampila, the minister of those kings Somadanḍādipa and Baichadaṇṇāyaka intervened and brought about a reconciliation between the two kings. Thus it is clear that Baicheya Daṇṇāyaka, minister of Kampilarāya was a contemporary of Hoysaḷa Ballāḷa III, Harihara and Bukkarāya the founders of Vijayanagara Empire.

Kumāra Rāma son of Kampilarāya had his capital at Kummatadurga which was at a distance of about five miles from Kunjarkona or Anegondi wherefrom Harihara ruled later on. Anegondi was perhaps the elephant stable of Kummatadurga. The minister Baichappa was a tactful and wise administraṭor as is clear from the story of Kumāra Rāma. It is stated in the Kumāra Rāmana Sangatya of Nāga Sangayya that the Sultan of

4. E.C. VII Hl. 117.
5. E.C. XI Cd. 4.
6. M.A.R. 1929 at pp. 44, 47.
7. M.A.R. 1929 at p. 44.
8. Foot Note at p. 44 M.A.R. 1929.

Delhi envied that he had not such a tactful minister as Baichappa. So it is more probable that Harihar and Bukka who were junior officers under Baichappa gave him the rank of minister with honours and entrusted him with responsible duties.

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